

THE IMPACTS OF INCREASED FEMALE REPRESENTATION
IN U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES

By

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by

Elizabeth Grace Williams

This dissertation is jointly dedicated to John Robert Bloom, my partner in marriage and life, and to my father Nelson Garrett Williams. I am grateful that from earliest childhood my father encouraged and taught his eldest daughter to be resourceful and self-confident, and that with enough hard work a woman could successfully pursue any profession of her choice. The unwavering encouragement, patience, hard work, emotional support, frequent sacrifice and love of my partner have been essential in making it possible to transform my personal and professional goals and dreams into reality. Without his efforts this doctorate--and the masters degree before it--could not have been completed.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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THE IMPACTS OF INCREASED FEMALE REPRESENTATION
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Since the mid 1960s state legislatures, which were historically weak institutions lacking independent policy-making ability, increasingly have become "modernized." Responding to the continued devolving of many former federal programs, most state legislatures today have become more independent and innovative policy developing institutions.

The number of women elected to state legislatures has quintupled from four percent in 1970 to 20.8 percent in 1995. Female legislators currently serve in all 99 state legislative chambers.

This research used multiple regression to analyze legislative behavior and opinion response data from an original 1995 nation-wide mail survey of 1,111 (494 female and 617 male) state legislators. Unlike most previous research on legislative women, this sample is much more

bipartisan and highly representative of the female legislator population since 1994 and provides a new opportunity to more clearly view the interactions of partisanship, ideology, and gender on policy representation.

This research examines whether increased numbers of female legislators provide substantive policy representation that differs from their male counterparts on distinctively "gendered" traditional women's policy issues and in gender-neutral policy areas. It examines the effectiveness of women's legislative caucuses, and membership in African-American, conservative and Hispanic caucuses. It also examines policy coalition building in order to pass their priority legislative by members of these caucuses.

Results indicate female legislators provide more effective substantive policy representation in women's policy issues and equally effective representation in gender-neutral policy areas. Female legislators, regardless of party affiliation, are significantly more likely to personally support women's policies and to successfully sponsor and pass more "women's" bills. No significant gender difference was found in legislators' ability to get their "gender-neutral" priority bills passed. Linkages with women's organizations, participation in a women's caucus, support for increased spending in women's policy areas, and a legislator's ideology better explain support for women's policy than does the percentage of female legislators.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

This study examines whether the increased percentage of female U.S. state legislators in 1995 provided substantive policy representation, different from their male colleagues, in policy areas traditionally identified with female domestic responsibilities or in gender-neutral policy areas.

It focuses on gender differences in legislative priorities not only on "women's culture" issues but across the spectrum of policy priorities listed by state legislators serving in 1995. It examines gender differences in the strength of linkages between legislators and 22 different organizations with their levels of support in the legislator's most recent electoral campaign.

Finally this work examines the significant positive roles of women's legislative caucuses, linkages to women's formal groups outside the legislature and support for spending on women's policy issues that help explain support among legislators for women's policies, regardless of their gender or political party. Of recent legislative gender studies reviewed in chapter two, those most closely related to this current research are Carroll (1992), Kathlene

(1991), Mezey (1978b), Reingold (1992a), and Thomas (1991, 1994).

Theoretical Foundations

The theoretical foundations of this research are built on substantive representation theory (Pitkin, 1967), collective policy representation (Weissberg, 1978), and minority group theory (Kanter, 1977) blended with third-generation feminist political theory of social group difference (Young, 1990) and the "ethic of care" (Tronto, 1993). These theories are examined in detail in chapter three. Substantive collective representation involves deliberately "acting for" or on behalf of the political and policy interests of others, exercising independent judgement and making policy decisions that reflect collective opinions that extends beyond a legislator's electoral constituents.

Female Legislators

Since 1970 the percentage of women elected to state legislatures has quintupled from four percent to 20.8 percent in 1995. Female legislators currently serve in all 99 U.S. state legislative chambers. Research in the 1970s on the impact of female legislators found they provided primarily passive descriptive representation. They "stood for" other women because they were female and resembled other women, but they provided little substantive policy

representation for women's collective interests. By the late 1980s the mostly liberal Democratic female legislator population began to provide substantive representation on issues of traditional concern to women such as children, youth, families, education, and health care that were based on their domestic roles. Recent research on female state legislators or gender difference in legislative policy priorities closely related to this current research include Carroll (1992), Dolan and Ford (1994), Reingold (1992a) and Thomas (1991, 1994).

Research Problem

The purpose of this research is to examine whether increased descriptive female representation, that is the percentage of female legislators in a state, in U.S. state legislatures has resulted in substantive representation for women, that differs from that provided by their male counterparts, on distinctively "gendered-policy" issues or in the wide spectrum of "gender-neutral" policy areas. Many "gendered" issues are classified as being either components of a "women's policy agenda" or a "feminist policy agenda."

Women's policy agenda issues primary concern children, family, public education, and elder care.¹ Issues are

¹Specific policy areas include child abuse, children and youth, child support, cultural affairs, public kindergarten through high school education, services for the elderly and aging, human services, juvenile crime and juvenile crime prevention, and pro-life issues.

considered feminist if they seek to increase the economic, education, health, legal, safety, or social status of females.

This research also examines whether there are significant gender differences in legislators' policy priorities, and in building supportive coalitions to pass their priority legislation. Factors hypothesized to be significant in the emergence of a distinctive gender-related "women's policy" and "feminist policy" agenda include the presence of and strength of an organized women's legislative political caucus, increased linkages between legislators and formal women's political groups outside the legislature and the frequency of forming supportive policy coalitions with other women, supportive male colleagues, ethnic minorities, and bipartisan female policy coalitions to pass "gendered" policy legislation.

Hypotheses

The six research hypotheses are listed below.

- H₁ As the percentage of female state legislators in a state increase, women provide increasingly substantive "gender-related" representation for women's traditional policy concerns that differs from representation by male state legislators.
- H₂ There is a positive relationship between the perception of a distinctive "women's policy agenda" and actual legislative behavior of female legislators on behalf of women's policy concerns through the sponsorship of bills in these policy areas.

- H₃ Female legislators are significantly more likely than their male counterparts to work in policy coalitions with other groups in order to get their priority bills passed.
- H₄ Female legislators are significantly more effective sponsors of women's traditional policy bills than their male colleagues.
- H₅ Female legislators will be as effective as their male counterparts in successfully sponsoring their priority bills in "gender-neutral" policy areas.
- H₆ Being a member of an effective women's legislative caucus is positively related to members' personal support for feminist public policy issues.

Research Design

This research used a cross-sectional self administered "Dillman-style" non-experimental mail survey research design. Primary data were obtained from a 1995 original nation-wide policy attitude and legislative behavior survey of U.S. state legislators in the fifty states. The survey instrument was pre-tested in Florida. Following legislator debriefings and survey revisions, the survey was mailed to 3,700 state legislators nation-wide from July through November 1995. Multivariate analyses were conducted using SAS.

Potential Contributions of this Research

Unlike most previous research on legislative women, the national sample in this study is much more bipartisan and highly representative of the female legislator population

following the 1994 elections. The increased numbers of female Republican legislators in this sample provide new research opportunities to view more clearly the interactions of partisanship, ideology, and gender on substantive legislative representation and policy activism at the state level. Increased ethnic, ideological, and gender diversity among legislators in both major political parties provide challenges to reexamine and expand legislative and policy gender representation research beyond "gendered" issues to include the broader spectrum of gender-neutral policy areas that directly affect citizens' daily lives.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF STATE LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH LITERATURE

The Increased Importance of State Legislatures
as Policy-Making Institutions

Until the mid 1950s most U.S. states had "amateur" or "citizen" legislatures composed of wealthy Caucasian males, part-time legislators who had other occupations as their primary source of income. Most legislators served only a single term in office. In 1900 the mean turnover each legislative election cycle was 90 percent in state houses (every two years) and 80 percent in state senates (Niemi and Winsky, 1987). Not until mid-century did state legislatures have a majority of incumbents or experienced legislators return for second terms in office. As late as the 1940s all but four state legislatures met in brief biannual legislative sessions.¹ By 1960 only 17 state legislatures met annually.

Legislatures were generally weak and institutionally dominated by the stronger political influence of governors,

¹Until 1940 only four state legislatures (New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and South Carolina) met annually. William Pound, Chapter one, "State Legislative Careers: Twenty-Five Years of Reform", in Changing Patterns in State Legislative Careers (Moncrief and Thompson (eds) 1992, 10).

restricted by state constitutions, and very malapportioned. These "moribund institutions" (Moncrief and Thompson 1992) had destabilizing high membership turnover rates, low member pay, inadequate facilities, no staff or member offices, and lacked any stable political opportunity structure (Squire, 1988) or independent institutional policy-making ability.

Since 1962 four major factors have combined to transform the majority of U.S. state legislatures of the 1990s into more autonomous, more equitably representative, more active in and innovative policy-making organizations. These factors include: (1) U.S. Supreme Court ordered reapportionment of state legislatures; (2) the institutionalization of state legislatures; (3) the increased professionalization of state legislators; and (4) the devolution to state legislatures of a wide scope of formerly federal policy making and policy implementation responsibilities.

Court-Ordered Reapportionment Make State Legislatures More Representative of its Citizens

In part, increased opportunities for women as well as racial, ethnic and partisan minorities to be elected to and represented in state legislatures have their roots in U.S. Supreme court ordered reapportionment rulings (*Baker v. Carr* 1962²; *Reynolds v. Sims* 1964³) and subsequent state

²*Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186, 82 S. Court 691 (1962).

constitutional revisions during the 1970s. Most state legislatures have been reformed and modernized as they have been legally required to become more representative of all their citizens.

In the 1960s, prior to *Baker v. Carr*, many state legislatures were grossly malapportioned so that a very small percentage of voters (usually rural, agricultural economic interests) were able to elect the majority of state legislators. Fewer than one-third of the voters could elect a majority of state representatives in six states (AL, CT, FL, MD, MS, NY) and a majority of state senators in nine states (AL, CA, CT, FL, IL, MD, NJ, PA and TX).⁴ As a result, the social, political, and economic interests of the majority of citizens, especially urban citizens, were unrepresented in their own state capitols. In a landmark 7-2 reapportionment case the Supreme Court ruled in *Baker v. Carr* that a citizen's constitutional right of equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment applied to the malapportionment of state legislatures, and that the federal courts (not the malapportioned state legislatures themselves) were the appropriate institution for deciding such representation issues.

³*Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964).

⁴See Table 1.1 page 23, and Table 1.2 page 26 in Voting Rights and Democracy (Scher, Mills, Hotelling, 1997).

Upon retiring, former Chief Justice Earl Warren cited *Reynolds v. Sims* as the most important case of his career.⁵ It embodied the principle of equal representation in its "one man (person), one vote" criterion. Its stated goal was achieving fair and effective representation. "Whatever the means of accomplishment, the overriding objective must be substantial equality of population among the various districts, so that the vote of any citizen is approximately equal in weight to that of any other citizen in the State...." (*Reynolds*, pp. 578-579)⁶ This case has opened the door for litigation on minority voting issues, racial (and partisan) gerrymandering, and the constitutionality of minority influence and minority access districts which continue to cause controversy among voters, political scientists and on the Supreme Court.

The Institutionalization of State Legislatures

In Polsby's (1968) landmark longitudinal case study of legislative institutionalization in the U.S. House of Representatives, he proposes three major indicators of highly specialized or institutionalized legislative bodies. The first measure is the establishment of clear, well differentiated boundaries between the organization's members

⁵See "The Unfinished Reapportionment Revolution" (Gordon E. Baker) Chapter Two, page 13 in Political Gerrymandering and the Courts (Grofman, 1990).

⁶*Ibid.*, page 15.

and the general public. Increased internal structural complexity, but not bureaucratic hierarchy, is the second indicator. Legislative institutionalization is characterized by a clearly defined division of labor including specialized functional tasks, and increased personnel and budget resources. The third measure includes the establishment of formal standard operating procedures and the implementation of automatic non-discretionary decision making rules. Polsby concludes the U.S. House is "one of very few extant examples of a highly specialized (successful) political institution." Evidence of this includes the House's member and leadership career opportunity structure, the development of a complex standing committee (and now also subcommittee) structure and its automatic decision making and committee appointment systems based primarily on member seniority.

In a case study application of Polsby's theory to the California state Assembly (state house), Squire (1992b) challenges and critiques the seniority criterion. Following legislative reforms in 1966, the 80 member California Assembly was one of the most institutionalized (similar to the U.S. House) state legislatures from the 1970s to the 1990s until the implementation of its three-term term limit law.

Unlike the U.S. House, 97 of the 99 state legislative chambers do not use a seniority system to determine

committee appointments. Decision-making and appointments are instead most strongly influenced by partisan loyalties. To make institutionalization theory applicable to state legislatures, Squire convincingly argues the seniority indicator should be replaced with a measure of decentralized decision making.

Institutionalization of state legislatures has resulted in annual and often longer legislative sessions; 43 of the fifty states now convene a regular (non-special) session each year.⁷ But there remains a wide diversity among the ninety-nine state legislative chambers in the degree of institutionalization. Structural and constitutional changes have strengthened legislative policy making authority (compared to the executive branch) and given 29 legislatures the ability to call themselves into special session without gubernatorial action. William Pound, Executive Director of the National Conference of State Legislatures, argues "reforms have made state legislatures more independent, analytical, and capable of policy development." (Moncrief and Thompson, 1992, 20)

Legislator salaries have increased, but pay varies widely among states. Rhode Island legislators are paid five dollars per day, in Alabama legislators are paid ten dollars per day during the session and members of New Hampshire's

⁷All states but Kentucky met during 1995, six other states (Arkansas, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, and Texas had no regular scheduled session in 1996.

400 member General Court (state house) make \$200 per biennium. Six full-time near year-round legislative chambers pay professional salaries ranging from \$42,000 to nearly \$60,000 (Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania). California pays \$72,000 and the District of Columbia pays its legislators \$80,000.³ Other characteristics of state legislative institutionalization include longer sessions, better office and district office resources, increased personal staff, and, most recently, computer technology.

Legislative chambers are often classified based on their level of institutionalization as being professional, hybrid, or citizen legislatures. Professional legislatures have the highest level of institutionalization and lowest turnover. Prior to the implementation of term-limit laws, many members made entire careers of state legislative service in these chambers. One-fifth of U.S. states have "professional" legislatures.⁴

Citizen legislatures are the least institutionalized and most similar to state legislatures of the early 1900s. One-third of the states continue to have citizen

³Figures are from Table 3.9 page 80 Legislative Compensation: Regular Sessions (as of March 1995) in the 1996-97 Edition (volume 31) of The Book of States.

⁴The following states have professional legislatures based on their high level of institutionalization: California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. (See Moncrief, Thompson, Haddon and Hoyer, 1992).

legislatures.¹⁰ The remaining half have hybrid legislatures having some characteristics of each with a middle level of institutionalization.

The Potential Destabilizing Consequences of "Term-Limits"

It is unclear how the full implementation of term limit laws in twenty-one states may affect institutional stability and member professionalism in their legislatures.¹¹ As of May 1997 only Maine and California have met their maximum term limit permitted by law. But 35 percent (or 2,615) of the 7,424 state legislators nation-wide currently serve under term limits.¹² Already state courts in Nebraska have ruled their term limit law unconstitutional, Maine ruled theirs legal, and Federal District courts have become involved in term-limit ballot issues in nine other states.

¹⁰Based on its membership turnover, the following 17 state legislatures were considered to be citizen-legislatures as of 1992: Arkansas, Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia and Wyoming. (Moncrief, Thompson, Haddon, and Hoyer, 1992).

¹¹Between 1990 and 1996 the following twenty-one states enacted term limit laws for their state legislators: Arizona (1994), Arkansas (1992), California (1990), Colorado (1990), Florida (1992), Idaho (1994), Louisiana (1995), Maine (1993), Massachusetts (1994), Michigan (1992), Missouri (1992), Montana (1992), Nebraska (1994), Nevada (1994), Ohio (1992), Oklahoma (1990), Oregon (1992), South Dakota (1992), Utah (1994), Washington (1992) and Wyoming (1992). Source: *The State of the States* 3rd ed. Alan Rosenthal, Table 6.2, p 128.

¹²"Ticking Term Limits Part I." *State Legislatures*. June 1997, 12-19.

Rosenthal replicated Squire's earlier case study of the California State Assembly (House) and found term-limits had a "deinstitutionalizing" impact. (1995) He reports increased legislator turnover rates, decreased legislator expertise and inexperienced, often weaker, legislative chamber leadership. He found a decrease in the norms of apprenticeship, collegiality and institutional loyalty among legislators.

Further complicating California's situation is the April 1997 Federal District Court decision that California's term limits law, Proposition 140, is unconstitutional. Judge Claudia Wilken ruled California's life-time ban of six to eight years total legislative service violated citizen's first and fourteenth amendment rights. In her decision she wrote "California's extreme version of term limits imposes a severe burden on the right of its citizens to vote for candidates of their choice, because it is not narrowly tailored to advance compelling state interests."¹³ Judge Wilken then suspended implementation of the ruling, pending appeal, until after the 1998 California legislative elections.

Term-limits are likely to most severely impact the more professional state legislatures. Much current legislative and policy expertise may shift away from elected officials

¹³"California Term Limits Declared Unconstitutional." *State Legislatures*, June 1997, p 17.

to unelected staff, agency managers and lobbyists. Rosenthal is pessimistic about the long-term impact of term limit laws. He predicts legislatures will become less deliberative bodies and "in all likelihood the fabric of the legislative institution will continue to unravel." (1995, 139)

Francis and Kenny (1997) are far less pessimistic. They propose a dynamic model which estimates legislative turnover will result in an increased, but stable, membership equilibrium approaching 36 percent in professional legislatures. They predict the impact of term limits in state senates will provide increased political opportunity for state house members with progressive ambition. Their model hypothesizes that members of professional legislatures will voluntarily exit their chamber in the election prior to their legally imposed final term. They project those legislators who exit earlier than the law requires, will often run for higher office in the now more frequently available open-seat state senate races.

Citizen and hybrid legislature members often voluntarily leave office prior to the six or eight year maximum in most term limit laws. In these states legal term limits may have no significant destabilizing effect or impact legislator turnover. Statistics compiled by the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) indicate natural (that is, not legally required) turnover in state

legislatures averages 20 percent per two-year house term. Its study found 72 percent of state senate seats, 84 percent of state house seats, and 86 percent of state legislative leadership positions turned over between 1987 and 1997, the decade immediately prior to enforcement of legally mandated term-limits.¹⁴

The Professionalization of State Legislators

Squire differs with Polsby in drawing a sharp distinction between the institutionalization of a legislative chamber and the professionalization of its members. In a cross sectional study of 25 state houses, he concluded the two most important career incentives necessary to reduce turnover: the development of members' legislative expertise or professionalism and the building of institutional stability through "member pay and advancement prospects." (Squire, 1988) Drawing from Schlesinger's (1966) individual political ambition theory, Squire classifies the professionalism of legislative chambers by their political opportunity structure. He measures it by membership stability and turnover rates compared with the availability of potential legislative seats in higher elective office. He classifies chambers as "dead-end" legislatures, "spring-board" legislatures, or "career" legislatures.

¹⁴ Ibid., p 16.

Dead-end legislatures are most similar to the citizen or amateur state legislatures of the past. Most members have discrete political ambition and serve part-time. They do not seek political advancement or a career in the legislature. Turnover is high among citizen-legislators. In Squire's sample 80 percent of representatives and 74 percent of senators in these chambers served only a single term of office. Members receive low pay and have no staff or a few shared staff, limited legislative resources, and few prospects for elective advancement.

Members of such legislatures interviewed in this research expressed a civic, almost patriotic, pride in being citizen-legislators. They stressed their continued very close ties with their communities and the ability of citizens to access them directly, unfiltered by staff. They saw virtue in serving without being unduly influenced or beholden to high legislative salaries or reelection pressures. They felt freer from the influence of economic business interests and lobbyists, which several negatively associated with more professional state legislatures and the U.S. Congress.

In contrast, springboard legislatures attract members who primarily have progressive political ambition to run for and hold higher elective office. Usually these members have short tenure and high turnover, but excellent opportunities for advancement. Professional legislative experience in

this type of chamber is often used as a career "springboard" from a manifest or penultimate office to higher office such as state senate or U.S. House (Francis, 1993). These legislatures offer adequate to good pay, support and personal staff, legislative resources including capitol and district offices, and hold longer, sometimes near year-round, annual sessions. About one-fifth of U.S. legislatures may be springboard chambers, although leading scholars differ on exact numbers. A few springboard legislatures are among the most professional in the U.S. (such as California) but many (such as Alaska, Kansas, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Washington) are not. It is the potential opportunity for political advancement of members to higher office, not the level of professional institutionalization, which characterizes a springboard chamber. This is the basis of Squire's challenge to Polsby.¹⁵

Squire classifies the remaining legislatures as career legislatures, since they offer little political opportunity for advancement beyond the legislature but the potential for a rewarding career within the chamber. These chambers have

¹⁵For a comparison ranking of professionalization of the fifty state legislatures see Table 1 in "Legislative Professionalization and Membership Diversity in State Legislatures" Peverill Squire (Legislative Studies Quarterly, XVII, 1 February 1992:69-78. Also see Squires' February 1988 "Career Opportunities and Membership Stability in Legislatures" Legislative Studies Quarterly, XIII, 1 February 1988:65-82.

had the highest levels of institutional stability and members have had the longest tenures prior to the implementation of term limits. Members most frequently have static political ambition, seek reelection to their current office and have limited advancement through committee or party leadership positions within their chamber.

Recent Incentives to Policy Activism in State Legislatures

The roots of increased policy activism and innovation seen in state legislatures today began with changes in intergovernmental finance between the federal and state governments with the passage of the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 under President Richard Nixon's "New Federalism." The percentage of federal aid dollars to states has fallen by one-third from its peak in 1978 and today accounts for only 18 percent of state revenue. Significant among Nixon's efforts to decentralize the federal government and return authority back to the states was General Revenue Sharing (1972-1986). It replaced many highly restrictive federally administered categorical grants-in-aid, gave states federal block grant funds and increased state authority and discretion in domestic program spending.

Reagan's severe budget cuts in 1981 coupled with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings 1985 Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act resulted in devolving federal program

and policy responsibilities to states often through unfunded federal mandates. Under the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981 the Reagan administration eliminated 60 federal categorical grants, combined the remaining 58 into nine broad policy area block grants, and then cut federal funding for the remaining programs by 25 percent from the previous budget year, from \$12.8 billion to \$9.7 billion.¹⁶ Late in his second term Reagan issued Presidential Executive Order 12612, which his vice president, George Bush, continued to support throughout his subsequent presidency. This order shifted most domestic program, policy, and financial responsibilities back to the states and restricted the federal government and its agencies from involving itself, financially or legally, in any state policies unless there was a demonstrated vital national interest at stake.

"Between fiscal 1980 and 1985, for example, federal grants in aid to states and localities decreased in absolute terms by \$10 billion, and as a percentage of state and local expenditures, they decreased from 26.3 to 21.0 percent."

(Kymlicka and Matthews, 1988, 197-98)

As a result of the Reagan/Bush administrations' dual legacy (under-funded federal devolution of domestic programs to states and an increasing federal budget deficit), state legislative policy activism and innovation became a

¹⁶Conlan, Timothy J. "Federalism and Competing Values in the Reagan Administration". *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* v. 16, no. 1 (Winter 1986) 29-47.

necessity. In recent recessions demands for state provided services, goods and programs have increased while former federal dollars to support the programs declined or disappeared.

Increasingly, state legislatures have assumed responsibilities for a wide scope of domestic policies abdicated by federal institutions. Perhaps the most recent and dramatic example of this devolution was Clinton's reform of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in a welfare reform bill signed August 22, 1996. AFDC, a pillar of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, was established as part of the Social Security Act of 1935 following the Great Depression. In 1996 AFDC provided cash benefits to 12.8 million poor Americans, including eight million children.

"Welfare reform" is devolved to the states

Similar to earlier policy devolution to states, welfare reform gives reduced block grants to states to develop and administer their own programs and to establish their own eligibility requirements and benefit levels. More than \$55 billion over six years have been cut, including \$24 billion in food stamps, from these block grants compared to what the federal government was currently spending. States must meet newly established strict federal guidelines to have one fourth of their welfare recipients employed within a year or face loosing an additional five percent of their already

reduced federal grant dollars. Furthermore, dollar amounts of these block grant funds are frozen for six years and will not be adjusted for inflation or population growth, meaning the per-dollar purchase value will decrease over the next six years while populations in need increase.

Many state legislatures have been proactive in anticipating and preparing for a reduced federal role in "welfare reform." Early successful pilot programs from Michigan and Wisconsin were used as models for the national legislation. Forty-five states had previously received "waivers" from the federal government to develop innovative welfare programs of their own. Half of all U.S. state legislatures had taken actions to "reform" their state welfare system by establishing conditional benefit time limits and work-triggered limits. Seventeen states had adopted the now federal 24 month continuous benefit limit, while others adopted graduated limits of 30 to 36 months based on a recipient's education level or number of parents present in the family. South Dakota adopted the longest benefit period of up to five years for recipients assigned to specific educational programs. Twenty states increased and expanded access to and funding for transitional child care for working poor parents. Most of them doubled the previous federal standard of twelve months under the 1988 Family Support Act. In 1995 twenty-two states considered

"welfare reforms" that would increase enforcement for collecting delinquent child support payments.

Other policy priorities in state legislatures

Policy areas of importance in state legislatures are as universal as children, youth and family concerns, health care reforms, environmental concerns, natural resources, labor issues and high technology telecommunications. Other policy areas are regional and as diverse as Native American gaming and nuclear waste storage regulation. In a November 1994 nationwide survey of state legislative leaders and committee chairs, the National Conference of State Legislatures found the five top legislative priorities were (1) crime, particularly juvenile crime and criminal justice reform, (2) budget and tax reform (property tax cuts), (3) education funding and school safety issues, (4) economic development, and (5) health, human services, and welfare reform.¹⁷ Legislative leaders in 17 states responded that criminal justice system issues, juvenile justice, and the death penalty were their state's highest priority. Balancing apparently contradictory citizen demands for increased education funding with decreased property tax levels were the top legislative priority issues in another 15 states. Economic development, including business tax

¹⁷State Legislative Priorities 1995 An Opinion Survey of Leading Lawmakers, National Conference of State Legislatures, Denver, CO, January 1995)

incentives and workforce training, topped the legislative agenda in 14 of the remaining states.

Increased state roles in local inter-government relations

State legislatures have also become more active in inter-governmental relations with local governments. Local units of government are the creations of states through municipal charters granted by state legislatures. With the combination of decreasing federal revenues and increasing numbers of unfunded or severely under-funded federal mandates to cities, local governments have had to look to their state capitol for funding to maintain even basic services.

A current high profile example is the city of Miami, Florida, which was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1996 with an annual \$68 million deficit, \$48 million of which was reoccurring on an annual basis. A Federal Bureau of Investigation probe resulted in Miami's former city manager being arrested for graft and theft, a city commissioner plead guilty and was sentenced for extortion on city contracts and the former finance director was charged with extorting kickbacks and bribes on city business.

Citizens were so angered by the situation they successfully obtained the required 100,000 voter signatures to put a "disincorporation" referendum to public vote March 1997. Had the measure been successful, the city of Miami

would have been dissolved. Former municipal services would have been provided by the metropolitan Dade county government. The ballot issue failed, Miami remains incorporated as the nation's fourth poorest city.

The city's \$423 million in bonds were devalued to "junk status" adversely impacting the state's economic outlook and finances. In response, the state was required to intervene. For the first time in Florida's 145 year history its Governor, Lawton Chiles, appointed a five-person financial emergencies oversight board chaired by the Lieutenant Governor (McKay) to oversee, monitor and restore Miami's fiscal solvency.

Trends in Female Representation in State Legislatures

Colorado Elects the First Female State Legislators

On November 6, 1894, Colorado elected the first three female state legislators in the United States, Representatives Carrie C. Holly, Clara Cressingham, and Frances S. Klock, all Republicans. The women were elected, in large part, through efforts of the East Capitol Hill Women's Republican League. The League helped mobilize a 78 percent voter turnout among Colorado's newly enfranchised female voters who had been granted state suffrage by referendum in 1893. Sixty-nine women served as state legislators in a dozen states prior to the 1920 ratification

of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which guarantees women the vote nationwide.¹⁸

Policy concerns related to gender issues were evident in the priorities and proposals of these earliest female legislative pioneers. Representative Holly successfully sponsored a bill into law to raise the "age of (sexual) consent" for girls from 16 to 18 against strong opposition from both the liquor lobby and prostitution industry, creating a nationwide sensation over public morals. Her bill to grant mothers equivalent custody rights to their children as fathers was also passed into law. She even proposed an early, albeit tabled, Colorado Equal Rights Amendment and a bill to abolish capital punishment. Representative Klock became a powerful committee chair on Military and Indian Affairs. Although not active in the suffrage movement, she emphasized bills on social welfare including establishing a home for "friendless and incorrigible girls." Representative Cresingham, who became secretary of Colorado's Republican legislative caucus, "held that one half of the legislators should be women, but that

¹⁸For brief political biographical sketches of the first female state (or territorial) legislators nationwide and a complete listing of female legislators and their terms in office see Women State and Territorial Legislators: 1895-1995 Elizabeth M. Cox (1996).

women ought not to introduce radical measures or take radical positions on reform questions."¹⁹

Within five years after ratifying the 19th Amendment 146 women, mostly Republicans, were serving as state legislators. Following both World War II and the Korean War the numbers of women legislators increased substantially (228 in 1945, and 308 in 1955). In her descriptive survey research on female legislators who served from 1921 to 1963, Werner (1968) found most were middle aged, married, college educated professional women with grown children. They were primarily teachers, lawyers, and social scientists. Most of them were motivated to enter politics by "a sense of moral commitment and social conscience" and "their legislative interests center(ed) on social welfare, education, and family life" (1968, 47,50).

Female Legislators of the 1950s and 1960s

In the 1950s female legislators were predominantly Republican and concentrated in the New England states of Vermont, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. They comprised almost half of the four percent of female state legislators (n=349).²⁰ These legislators represented non-urban

¹⁹Quoted from "Women state and territorial legislators, 1895-1995: A state-by-state analysis with rosters of 6,000 women. (Cox, 1996,20).

²⁰Nechemias, Carol. "Changes in the Election of Women to U.S. State Legislative Seats." Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol XII,1. February 1987. Data from Table 1, page 130.

northeastern states with low population growth and "oversized" legislative chambers. In 1963 Vermont had 276 state legislators, Connecticut had 330, and the New Hampshire legislature had, and still has, 424 members. Members were elected from numerically small town or village sized districts in which campaign costs were minimal, trends which continued in 1995. By 1963 half of all legislative women were concentrated in these three states; 46 were in Vermont, 45 in Connecticut, and 59 in New Hampshire while 37 other legislative chambers had fewer than five female members each (Nechemias, 1987). "The ease of accessibility to grass roots (support) and the voters no doubt contributes to the larger number of women participating in the oversized New England legislatures which function very much like statewide town meetings." (Werner, 1968)

This trend continues today. In 1995 nearly ninety percent of male and female legislators from New Hampshire (89 percent) and Vermont (87 percent) who participated in this dissertation research accepted no cash donations from groups; often they spent less than one hundred dollars to be elected. Several wrote personal notes explaining they had spent no money in their most recent election campaign.

The percentage of women in state legislatures declined beginning in the mid 1960s to a 1969 low of 301 seats.

There were 48 fewer female legislators in 1969 than a decade earlier.

Female State Legislators Since 1970

The number of women legislators began a sharp climb after 1969. The number of women elected to state legislatures increased 100 percent in the decade between 1974 and 1984, continuing thereafter to a record high of 1,584 following the 1996 election. By 1997 women held 21.3 percent of state legislative seats. "Geographic concentration (in the Northeast) and Republican party ties of women legislators underwent a transformation in the 1970s." (Nechemias, 1987,131)

In her analysis of 80 socioeconomic and political contextual variables, Rule (1990) found six "new wave" states (CA, FL, HI, KS, MD and RI) that had increases of 300 percent in the number of legislative women. She credits this increase to "the positive effect of the women's movement as evidenced by...women's political recruitment (for office), the proportion of elected women in the state, large proportions of working and professional women, and more chapters per population of the National Organization for Women." (1986, 445).

The number of women serving in state legislatures at the time of this research (1,535 in June 1995) has

quintupled from 4 percent to 20.8 percent since 1970.²¹ In November 1992, referred to by the media as "The Year of the Woman," one hundred twenty-eight women nation-wide were elected as first-term state legislators with a then record high of 1,547 female state legislators serving in 1992. In the November 1994 Republican electoral "sweep," more than one hundred Democratic female legislators lost elections and were replaced by 88 Republican women. Ninety-seven percent of incumbent Republican female legislators were reelected in 1994 and an additional 133 won open-seat races. Twelve fewer women served as state legislators after the November 1994 election.

Nine additional female legislators were elected in 1995 races in Louisiana, New Jersey, and Virginia, bringing the total of female state legislators to 1,541. In November 1996 elections 43 more women were elected, resulting in a new record high total of 1,584 female state legislators in office (357 Senators and 1,227 Representatives).²² For a

²¹Figures not cited from other sources have been provided by the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) National information bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

²²These figures were obtained from the Center for the American Woman and Politics, prior to the publication of the 1997 Fact sheet on Women Legislators. The 357 Senators include 208 Democrats, 135 Republicans, one Independent, and 13 female senators elected in non-partisan elections to the Nebraska Unicameral. The 1,227 Representatives include 720 Democrats, 504 Republicans, and three Independents. Figures may be subject to slight increases as a few vacant seats remain to be "appointed".

one-hundred-year table of female legislators by state, chamber and partisanship, see Appendix A.

Women are currently elected and serve in all 99 U.S. state legislative chambers, although five state senates have only one female member--AL, AR, NJ, UT, and WY. Alabama, ranked last (fiftieth) in female representation at 4.3 percent in 1995, which decreased to 3.6 percent in 1996, had six female Democratic legislators--one senator and five representatives.²³ Republican women continue to be elected at higher rates than Democratic women. In 1995 Republican women outnumbered their Democratic female colleagues 190 to 136 in state senates, and in lower house chambers they outnumbered Democratic women 659 to 543. These figures remained nearly constant in 1996 senates, 193 Republicans, 136 Democrats and houses, 657 Republicans, 538 Democrats. For a rank ordered state-by-state listing of the number and percentage of 1995 female state legislators by chamber and partisanship, see Appendix B.²⁴

Since the mid-1980s women have been increasingly elected to state legislature leadership positions in their chamber and party caucuses and have been appointed to important committee chair positions. In 1993 a high of 28

²³"Women in State Legislatures 1995 Fact sheet. Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) 12/16/94.

²⁴"Women in State Legislatures 1995 Fact sheet (12/16/94) and 1996 Fact sheet (2/96). Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP).

women held elected leadership positions in their legislative chambers, including both Senate President and House Speaker in Alaska. In 1995 twenty-two female legislative leaders served; a majority of them participated in this research to be detailed later.²⁵ In 1996 twenty-one women were elected to chamber leadership positions in 17 states.²⁶

State legislatures have become important penultimate offices in the career paths of the few women elected to the United States Congress. Most women have progressed primarily from local government and school boards through the state house to the state senate (or less frequently state-wide elected office) to the U.S. House. Four women, Margaret Chase Smith, R-ME; Olympia Snowe, R-ME; Barbara Mikulski, D-MD; and Barbara Boxer, D-CA, have risen from state legislatures, through the U.S. House to become U.S. Senators, the highest national office to which an American woman has been elected.

²⁵Legislative leaders were identified from the Directory of Legislative Leaders 1995, published by the National Conference of State Legislatures.

²⁶These formal leadership positions include Senate President (AK), President Pro Tem (CT, WA), Senate Majority (or Minority) Leaders in six states (DE, HI, NV, NC, VT, and WV), Speaker of the House in three states (AK, OH, OR, and Puerto Rico), and House Majority or Minority Leaders in six states (CO, MO, NH, SC, UT, and WY).

Recent Research on the Impact of Female State Legislators

A substantial body of knowledge based on women's electoral experience (Rule, 1990; Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994), candidacy (Carroll, 1985) and on the policy agendas of female elites (Jones & Jonasdottir, 1985) at the local and state legislative levels has been developed since the 1970s.

Early research on the impact of female state legislators in the 1970s found they provided symbolic, descriptive representation for women but did not differ from male legislators in their legislative priorities or policy agenda. In a 1974-1978 case study of 66 Hawaiian legislators, the 22 female legislators interviewed provided symbolic or descriptive, but not substantive, gender-related representation different from their male colleagues (Mezey, 1978).

A 1983-84 California (State Assembly) case study analysis of voting behavior on 15 "women's issues" found male assembly members were more "liberal" than their female counterparts (Thomas, 1989). Thomas acknowledges "these findings are quite surprising" and "contrary to our expectations". She proposes an explanatory, but untested, alternate "hypothesis that the (male) Democrats (in the Assembly) are already so supportive of women's rights legislation, little residual (gender) effect is possible" (1989,49). Consistent with more recent findings (Dodson and

Carroll, 1991) Thomas found female legislators were more supportive of women's issues than male legislators in their political party. Female Republican legislators were less supportive of these issues than female Democrats.

Gender Differences in Legislative Policy Priorities

As the number of women in state legislatures continued increasing during through the 1980s, research suggested a growing gender-based difference between the legislative policy priorities of men and women legislators. Michelle Saint-Germain conducted a pioneering, 17-year (1969-1986) longitudinal policy case study of both chambers of the Arizona legislature. During her research the percentage of female legislators serving in Arizona increased from 12.2 percent to 20 percent. She found as the proportion of Arizona female legislators increased, they provided more effective substantive policy representation for traditional women's issues and feminist issues than their male colleagues (Saint-Germain, 1989). Furthermore, she reports that the female legislators in her study were more successful than their male counterparts in getting their priority legislation on these issues enacted. Her findings form part of the theoretical basis of this research and are discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

Female Legislators Affecting the Legislative Process

In a sociolinguistic analysis of taped interviews with ten members of the 1985 Colorado House, significant differences were found between legislators' decision-making processes. These were attributed to gender-related attitudinal constructs and experiences (Kathlene, 1989). Differences in natural language patterns appeared to reflect gender-based values and influence how male and female legislators "framed political" issues differently across a wide spectrum of public policies.

In a subsequent 1989 case study of interviews with 47 Colorado legislators on their opinions on crime issues, male legislators were found to have a more instrumental and individual responsibility and less contextual or structural approach to crime legislation. These perceptions positively correlated with significant gender differences in the 30 actual proposed crime bills. Female legislators sought more and varied policy input from a wider range of information sources, including constituents and women's political organizations, prior to decision-making (Kathlene, 1991).

A 1991 non-random, semi-structured interview study with female state legislative leaders from 22 states examined gender differences in chamber leadership styles (Jewell and Whicker, 1993). A typology of nine legislative leadership styles was proposed based on personal leadership style and the legislator's primary legislative goal (power, policy, or

process). Female leaders were found most frequently to facilitate chamber decisions through consensus building, cooperation and negotiation than by command authority and zero-sum conflictual methods. This research suggests female legislators may be altering the policy agendas and decision-making process in their chambers.

"Feminist" Policy Priorities Among Female Legislators

In a 1992 nationwide survey of female legislators, the presence and strength of a self-reported "feminist identity" among female legislators was found to be positively correlated with their level of support for women's policy issues. Legislators who identified themselves as strong feminists ranked women's issues highest among their legislative priorities significantly more often than either weak or non-feminist legislators (Dolan and Ford, 1995). Regional differences among female legislators were also significant. Women representing "Southern," that is formerly Confederate states were least likely to identify themselves as "feminist" or "act with a distinctively woman's identity." (Dolan and Ford, 1994) But other scholars have found even women who reject the label of feminist and do not think of themselves as pursuing women's rights, introduce and successfully steer more legislation affecting women's economic, employment, health, and family

concerns through state legislatures than their male colleagues (Reingold, 1992a; Thomas, 1991).

A Distinctive "Women's" and Feminist Policy Agenda

Some scholars have identified a distinctive "women's" or "feminist" legislative policy agenda. (Sapiro, 1981; Jones, 1985; Mueller, 1988; Miller, 1991) A twelve-state study of state representatives found as the number of female legislators increased above 15 percent in a state, more legislation was sponsored and enacted by both men and women which dealt with child welfare, family and women's health and social issues. (Thomas and Welch, 1990) Although this research found an "infinitesimally small" policy impact of increased proportions of women in state legislatures, it did find that "gender differences are clearly apparent in legislative priorities held by state legislators." (1990, 453)

In a 1990 two-state (Arizona and California) attitudinal survey and interview study, a majority of female (71 percent) and male (65 percent) legislators "believe(d) there is an identifiable women's political issue agenda" (Reingold, 1992b). This agenda includes issues such as women and children's concerns, abortion issues, day care, domestic violence, education, health care, and sex discrimination. Women legislators in both states "cited women, and women's groups as the most supportive

constituency group for female officials." (Reingold 1992b, 522) Over three-fourths (79 percent) of the female legislators interviewed by Reingold "believed they fulfilled a unique role vis-a-vis women's issues (only 30 percent of the male officials agreed)." (Reingold 1992b, 530) Thomas' earlier findings from a 1988 twelve state legislative survey concur that female legislators do make a policy difference and "their capacity to do so is related to the level of support from colleagues." (1991, 958) This may be accomplished by either having a high percentage of female legislators or through the presence of a formal women's legislative caucus.

A 1988 nationwide telephone survey of state legislators by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) found strong linkages between legislative women and organized women's legislative caucuses. Women's (feminist) organizations outside their chamber were highly correlated with how actively supportive female legislators were of women's political interests--or "women's culture" (Carroll, 1992). A majority of legislative women "had close (and active) ties to women's organizations, 67 percent of senators (188) and 60.2 percent of representatives (394) gave money to these organizations, and roughly equal numbers report(ed) receiving monetary campaign contributions from women's organizations." (1992, 32)

Methodologically rigorous research conducted in the past few years, primarily by female political scientists, increasingly suggests that electing more women to legislatures and increasing or strengthening the sustaining linkages between legislative women and women's formal organizations may increase substantive, gender-related policy representation of issues of special concern to women. These findings suggest women are altering the content of public policy in state legislatures. Further empirical study of policy impacts of increasing numbers of female representatives on the substantive representation of the majority female American population could make a significant contribution to the discipline.

Chapter three will build a theoretical foundation from representation, legislative and feminist political theory and more closely examine theoretical concepts in recent work by Carroll, Mezey, Reingold, and Thomas.

CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESES

Theories of Political Representation

This chapter focuses on the interaction of key concepts in political representation, legislative, minority participation and feminist political theory to build a framework for this research. Of particular importance to this research is the concept of representing "women's culture" and theories of descriptive, substantive, minority group and collective legislative representation. This chapter concludes with a statement of the research problem.

Instructed Delegate vs. Trustee Representation

A 1957 role-theory model study of state legislative behavior identified three major roles or representation styles of decision-making (Wahlke, Eulau, Buchanan, Ferguson 1962). These roles are (1) instructed delegate, (2) trustee or guardian and (3) "politico." How legislators perceive their role may help explain differences in legislators' decision-making, representation style and responsiveness to their constituents' public opinion.

As an instructed delegate, a legislator is expected to do what constituents want and "follow instructions even if they are counter to the representative's own personal beliefs and judgement." (1962, 276) This model assumes a majority of constituents are informed on each issue and have opinions on them. Unlike the delegate, trustee legislators are expected to use their best judgement and follow the "moralistic dictates" of their consciences. They behave as free agents and safeguard the best interests of constituents by doing what is just and right--even when it conflicts with public opinion.

The third representational role of "politico" is a hybrid which reconciles conflicts between the trustee and delegate model differently depending on the context and issues involved. Many issues facing state legislators today have become more complex than previous input-demand representation models suggest. Legislative scholars have begun to reject the concepts of trustee and delegate legislators as over simplifications of the multiple complex roles state legislators perform (Jewell, 1982).

Descriptive, Symbolic, and Substantive Representation

In a conceptual analysis, Pitkin (1967) uses sociolinguistic and philosophical methods to define three different types of representation; descriptive, symbolic, and substantive. She argues both descriptive and symbolic

forms of representation consist of "standing for" something, not "acting for" or on the behalf of the interests of those being represented. Pitkin defines political representation as substantive representation. "Within a state, representation most commonly is ascribed to the legislature. Political representation is, in fact, representation, particularly in the sense of 'acting for'." (1967,224)

Descriptive representation

Descriptive representation consists of simply having a resemblance to something, being a mirror or an accurate reflection. It is passive and does not involve activity. Therefore, it can be done by inanimate objects (such as works of art). Descriptive representation "does not allow for the activity of representing or acting for or on behalf of, others; which means in the political realm it has no room for the creative activities of a representative legislature, the forming of consensus, the formulating of policy, or the activity we roughly designate by 'governing'." (1967,90)

Symbolic representation

Symbolic representation is also passive and often can be done by inanimate objects that substitute for or "stand for" something else. "Symbols are not proxy for their objects, but are vehicles for the conception of what they

symbolize." (1967,97) Examples include the American Flag or a map of North America. Both objects can stand for the United States but neither accurately resembles or mirrors the country in appearance. Neither symbol can "act for" or on the behalf of the states. A person can provide symbolic representation only if those who are to be represented accept and believe in the legitimacy of the person as a symbol of something else.

Substantive representation

Substantive representation involves deliberate "acting for" in the interests of others and being held personally (rather than institutionally) accountable for this action and behavior. Political representation is "acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them; the representative must act independently; his (or her) action must involve discretion, and judgement." (1967, 209) When the representatives use independent judgement and occasionally act contrary to their constituents' opinions, the official is held accountable to explain and at times justify his or her independence in order to minimize potential representation conflicts.

This definition of active substantive political representation with independent judgement and accountability appears to be more consistent with the trustee model of representation than with the instructed delegate model.

Applying Pitkin's concepts of representation to this research, three important conclusions can be drawn. First, only a female legislator can provide accurate descriptive representation for other women. Second, either gender has the potential to provide substantive political representation by "acting for" women's interests, since it is the official's behavior on behalf of women not the legislator's gender which is most crucial. Third, not all female legislators, solely because of their gender, provide substantive representation for traditional female policy concerns or feminist issues. Susan Mezey says it succinctly: "simply counting female noses in political decision-making institutions does not provide a barometer of support for women's policy issues." (1978, 384)

Collective vs. Dyadic Representation

Dyadic representation views substantive representation through the "electoral context" of one legislator linked to the specific constituents that can elect the official. In this model citizens are (or are not) accurately represented only by the one elected official they can vote for (or against). The paired legislator-district model has dominated most empirical representation research in political science.

Pitkin argued "political representation is primarily a public, institutionalized arrangement involving many people

and groups, and operating in the complex ways of large-scale social arrangements." (1967,221) Weissberg (1978) agrees, advocating a model of collective representation from an institutional viewpoint. He argues collective representation can provide more accurate and diverse representation for non-geographically based constituents' interests.

Collective representation "focuses on the representation of an opinion (or policy agreement) within an (political) institution independent of an electoral relationship between opinion holders and the legislator." (1978,538) An example of collective representation is a legislator becoming an advocate and spokesperson for a particular policy or non-geographic group of people who share the legislator's position but have no electoral connection to him or her.

Former U.S. Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) was an advocate for the military and for liberal feminists throughout her Congressional career. For members of these groups she provided collective representation, although most of her "ideological constituents" lived outside her Colorado congressional district and could not vote to reelect her.

Hurley (1982) argues Weissberg's concept of collective representation should be extended beyond having a policy opinion expressed. Hurley "redefined (it) as the extent to which...policy output (decision) reflects the collective

distribution of public opinion." (1982, 121) A 1975-76 comparative case study of four western citizen state legislatures linked collective institutional representation with policy responsiveness (Ingram, Laney, McCain 1980). It focused on legislators' motivations to translate public opinion of various constituent groups into actions. Their study expands the concept of policy representation to include policy outputs of symbolic statements and constituency service (in that policy area) as well as actual policy choices and decision-making.

Unlike many racial and ethnic minorities, the majority of American women are Caucasian and not geographically concentrated by housing patterns into few legislative districts. Therefore, collective representation may provide improved or more accurate representation for women's policy interests.

Normative Representation and Ideological Proximity

Achen (1978) defines representativeness "as a normative property of the relationship between a legislator's opinions and those of his constituency as a whole." (1978,477) He develops three measures of representation: (1) ideological proximity, (2) centrism and (3) responsiveness to constituents. Proximity is how closely "legislators resemble their constituents ideologically" or the "ideological distance" between a legislator and constituents

on policy outcomes. Achen focused on the ideological representation of a legislator's entire constituency--not specific groups within it. If female legislators have distinctive gender related policy agenda priorities, different from their male colleagues that are strengthened by close linkages with organized "women's groups," then both Achen's proximity and responsiveness indicators may become important theoretical concepts in this research.

Legislative Theory

Legislative Roles

A role-theory study of legislative behavior in four western states combined the traditional institutional (structural) study of state legislatures with an innovative behavioral approach to legislator's decision-making processes (Wahlke, Eulau, Buchanan, Ferguson, 1962). It identified four major roles that help shape legislators' behavior and perceptions, and influence their legislative priorities and policy decision-making.

These roles include members' (1) core representation roles (trustee, delegate, or politico) and (2) clientele sector roles (how legislators respond to lobbyists and legislative colleagues). Other important legislative roles include specialized subroles such as holding party or leadership positions within the chamber. Decision-making is also affected by a legislator's personal factors, family

relationships, friendships and non-political social roles such as group memberships. These competing, at times conflicting, roles interact to help create the varied values, priorities and differing legislative goals that members may pursue.

Members Legislative Goals

In Fenno's (1973) Congressional study, he found members' individual legislative goals can be summarized into three major areas: (1) getting reelected (which is necessary to achieving any other goal), (2) building personal influence through taking credit for accomplishments and "advertising their name" and (3) making good public policy. This research will examine the relative importance state legislators assign to specific aspects of their clientele, personal and representational role(s). It also examines political influences (and campaign support) from social, professional, nonpartisan political and occupational group memberships on legislators.

Components of State Legislative Representation

In his 1978-79 comparative case study of nine state legislatures¹, Jewell (1982) examines the complex process

¹Malcom Jewell conducted semi-structured open-ended interviews over nine months (September 1978 to June 1979) with 221 state representatives from CA, CO, KY, IN, OH, MA, NC, TN, and Texas.

of collective institutional representation from the legislator's (not the voters') perspective. He accepts Pitkin's concept of substantive ("acting for") representation and Weissberg's argument that "citizens are probably better represented by legislative bodies in a collective sense than they are by their (individual) elected legislator." (1982,15)

Jewell identifies four components of state legislative representation: (1) communications with constituents, (2) policy responsiveness, (3) allocation of goods, services, and resources for the legislator's district and (4) casework or providing services to individual and groups of constituents. He examines the impact of individual legislator's characteristics, backgrounds, goals and attitudes, legislative district characteristics and state level differences in legislative systems, such as session length, staffing, and so on. Jewell concludes state legislators have considerable freedom, power and independence to choose their legislative roles and priorities. Many legislators deliberately increase their constituency service roles because they yield a variety of low-risk political benefits to the legislator while increasing both the individual's political power and independence. "Political advantages (of constituency service) include...claim(ing) credit for benefits gained...individual constituents remember assistance and

these activities rarely inspire any opposition. Effective constituency service can have another important political advantage for the legislator: it enables him (or her) to take greater risks on issues...and to become involved in controversial questions." (1982, 161)

The Impact of Gender on State Legislators' Activities and Legislative Priorities

In 1963 women held only 344 or 4.4 percent of all state legislative seats. Survey data indicate 85 percent of these women focused their major legislative efforts on "social welfare, family life, government process, and education issues." (Werner, 1968,46) Few women chaired committees, and those who did most often chaired education committees.

The women reported spending more time on their jobs, thoroughly researching issues and learning about legislation than their male colleagues. Women also stressed their abilities to sustain cooperative, bipartisan friendships and legislative working relationships through listening and compromising with colleagues to solve problems.

Socialized gender role differences in legislative policy expertise continued into the 1970s. A 1971 regional New England survey indicated women continued to focus primarily on education (18 percent), health (26 percent), and welfare (25 percent) issues, while male legislators focused primarily on fiscal affairs (Diamond, 1977). Male legislators were more assertive, spoke more often on the

chamber floor and introduced more legislation. But female legislators were more successful in getting their priority legislation enacted. Female legislators were "more adverse to bargaining, vote swapping, trading votes, and influence by lobbyist." (1977, 47) The women were slightly more liberal on policy views and were more likely to behave as trustees when representing their constituents.

Legislative research data from the late 1980s and early 1990s indicate many of the gender role legislative behavior, but not legislative priority, differences have disappeared. Subnational survey data indicate male and female legislators are now very similar in mean levels of time spent speaking on the floor, in committee meetings, meeting with lobbyists and in bargaining. But women continue to view bargaining negatively (Thomas and Welch, 1991; Kathlene, 1992). There was no significant gender difference in time spent on casework (assisting constituents).

In committee assignments some changes have occurred. Female legislators are still more likely to chair health and welfare committees, but are no longer more likely than males to chair education committees. Although women have become as likely as their male colleagues to be members of budget committees, few women chair such powerful committees.

Female legislators do spend significantly more time on legislative activities. A 1985 study of Colorado representatives found female legislators sought out more

diverse sources of information on legislative issues (Kathlene, 1989). Crime legislation proposed by these women was more comprehensive and from a contextual viewpoint; while crime legislation proposed by males had a more instrumental approach and incremental content (Kathlene, 1995). Women continue to sponsor slightly more legislation dealing with children and families. Significant gender differences continue in legislative priorities. "Women (legislators) as evidenced by their self-assessed priority legislation, committee assignments, and their proudest accomplishment gave more priority to issues relating to women, children, and families. Male legislators were more likely to focus on issues of business and commerce." (1991, 453)

A majority of female (71 percent) and male legislators (65 percent) in a 1990 two-state study believe there is an identifiable women's political issue agenda, including issues affecting children, the environment, education, domestic violence and gender discrimination (Reingold, 1992).

Regional differences, as a proxy for social tradition and political culture, have significant impacts on the legislative priorities of female legislators. Nearly 70 percent of southern legislative women, as opposed to 55 percent of non-southern female legislators, reported their

legislative priorities were women, children, and family issues (Dolan and Ford, 1994).

Minority Political Participation Theory

The transition of female legislators from descriptive and symbolic representation to "acting for" in substantive representation roles has progressed as the number of women and more importantly the ratio of women in legislative chambers has increased. This is consistent with minority group theory research on gender proportions in face to face group interactions (Kanter, 1977). Four group types based on the proportion of diversity are identified. These include (1) uniform groups, (2) skewed groups, (3) tilted groups and (4) balanced groups. Uniform groups are homogeneous, all members belong to the same salient status (single gender, ethnicity).

"Skewed" Groups and "Tokens"

Skewed groups have ratios of 85 percent and up dominant trait members with no more than 15 percent of the members being different and belonging to the "non-dominant" or "token" group. Token members are often "treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals" based on their collective ascribed characteristics (1977,966). At the that of this research (1977), female legislators held fewer than 10 percent of the

legislative seats; not until 1987 did women exceed the 15 percent ratio nationally. "Token" status affects interpersonal behavior by increasing individual visibility, polarizing or exaggerating salient differences, or by assimilation involving stereotyping the person's social, racial or gender type.

"Tilted" Group Dynamics

As the ratio of "minority" members increases beyond token status, from 15 to 40 percent, groups become "tilted". In these groups minority members are often able to make non-token substantive impacts and be viewed as individuals by the dominate group.

Women legislators are just beginning to break into this non-token "tilted" group status in most non-southern citizen and hybrid legislatures as their numbers approach 21 percent nationally. Minority members in these "tilted" groups have enough collective representation to form effective coalitions with potential dominate group member allies and to influence the culture, group dynamics, and outputs of their organization. The six state legislatures with the highest proportion of female members in 1995 had 30 percent to 40 percent female membership and would be considered "tilted groups."² In the future as the ratio of female

²The ten states with the highest percentage of female legislators in 1995 were (in decreasing order): Washington (39.5%), Nevada (34.9%), Colorado (31%), Arizona and Vermont

legislators increases to more than 40 percent in a few states, gender groups will become "balanced". Sociological research indicates in balanced organizations both the minority and majority groups each become internally more diverse with individuals having different roles and abilities (Kanter, 1977).

African-American Women in State Legislatures

The ratio of African-American females compared to African-American men in state legislatures is greater than the ratio of Caucasian female legislators to Caucasian men. Scholars have hypothesized this is due to "the politicization of black women in the civil rights movement." (Darcy and Hadley, 1988) It may also be due to the creation of racial minority access (majority black) legislative districts under the 1965 Voting Rights Act (Moncrief, Thompson, and Schuhmann, 1991). Especially in the south, the tie between redistricting and increases in black representation in state legislatures is very strong. In the past 28 years "there has never been a single decline in the number of African-American state house members in six of the southern states." (Bullock, 1992, 42)

(30% each), New Hampshire (29.7%), Oregon (28.9%), Maryland (28.7%), Kansas (27.9%), and Idaho (27.6%). Figures are from the Center for the America Woman and Politics (CAWP) "Women In State Legislatures 1995" Fact Sheet.

In 1995 there were 221 "women of color" in state legislatures, 54 senators and 167 representatives. This includes 167 African-American women, 11 Asian American/Pacific Islander women, 35 Latinas and eight Native American women.³ Most of these legislators are Democrats (210 Democrats, 9 Republicans, and 2 Independents).

A 1987 analysis of 25 African-American female legislators from eleven states found that a much higher proportion of black women held "high prestige" jobs (56.3 percent) than did their Caucasian female counterparts (39.7 percent). More African-American female legislators held advanced graduate degrees (54.2 percent) than any other racial or gender group of legislators (Moncrief, Thompson, and Schuhmann, 1991, 483).

In January 1992 African-American women held 106 state legislative seats. Survey results indicate the legislative priorities of African-American women have a unique "hybrid" of gender and racial/economic concerns. Black women legislators (who are almost exclusively Democrats) are "strong supporters of pro-women policy issues, like their Caucasian female Democratic colleagues, and solid

³African-American females serve in 35 states, Asian American/Pacific Islander women in three states (HI, OR, and WA). Latinas serve in 12 states (AZ, CA, CO, CT, IN, MN, NH, NM, NY, TX, UT, and WA) and Native American women serve in five states (AK, GA, MT, NM, and WY). Detailed information from the "Women of Color" in Elective Office 1995 Fact Sheet. Published by the Center for the American Woman and Politics National Information Bank on Women in Public Office, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

support(ers) of minority-targeted policies." (Barrett, 1995, 223) Overall, African-American female legislators' policy priorities are more similar to those of their male racial counterparts than to those of Caucasian females. African-American women's legislative priorities are education, health care reform, economic development and increased employment opportunities.

One vehicle African-American legislators have successfully used to "maximize their policy influence" and translate their small numeric minority into substantive legislative policy has been Black Legislative Caucuses. "Nine of eleven southern states, and 25 of the 42 states with elected black legislators have such caucuses, most dating back to the 1970s." (Miller, 1993, 111) Substantive legislative priorities of these caucuses primarily beneficial to blacks include (1) minority economic development, (2) increasing black appointed and elected officials, (3) enhancing historically black colleges, (4) criminal justice reforms and (5) increased human services (1993, 115).

Kanter's (1977) theory of "tilted" group behavior suggests gender interactions and group behavior will be characterized by more intra-group diversity. Racial and ethnic differences between women suggest differing legislative priorities and goals. This research anticipates finding increased diversity and heterogeneity among female

legislators based on ethnic, racial, ideological and partisan differences.

Feminist Political Theory

Scholarly works on gender issues in political science have been strongly influenced by three major factors. The first influence is the second wave of U.S. liberal feminism during the 1960s and 1970s Women's Movement. Second is the expansion of academic interdisciplinary research linked to the development of women's studies curricula and programs. Many of these programs had roots in the political mobilization of U.S. women. Finally, gender issues in political science have been brought into the mainstream by the large increase in the numbers of elected women who have focused attention on such issues since the 1970s.

Empirically-oriented feminist political scientists have three fundamental criticisms of the discipline. First, they challenge historical assumptions in much political theory that views women only in stereotypical apolitical roles. The political behavior and contributions of women are often ignored, resulting in women becoming marginalized and "invisible" as political actors. Feminist political scientists seek to "make women visible not only as individuals, but also as an organized, collective political force." (Carroll and Zerilli, 1993)

A second critique challenges many of the traditional quantitative methods and assumptions of political analysis which focus mostly on outcomes and less on process. One fundamental assumption under siege is the supposed gender based dichotomy between the female private (domestic) sphere and the male public or political sphere. As policy analysis increasingly examines "the interrelationship among economy, family and state, and political policies organizing family life and sexuality" the personal has become political as the two merge. (Ackelsberg and Diamond, 1987, 511) Although sex has been one among many control variables in political research, feminist scholars argue that gender should become a category of analysis that "puts the perspective of women and women's experiences at the center of their analysis." (Carroll and Zerilli, 1993)

The third major feminist critique of political science is its failure to reconcile the inclusion of women into traditional methods, concepts and frameworks. Feminist theorists "argue it is necessary to transform both institutions and speech and to incorporate into our models new ways of relating thought and emotion, reason and experience." (Ackelsberg and Diamond, 1987) A sociololinguistic method advocated is natural language discourse analysis and qualitative methods which permit women to speak of their experiences in their own voice and context.

Carol Gilligan's "Different Voice"

Several concepts developed by Carol Gilligan (1993), in critique of Lawrence Kohlberg's hierarchical "male" model of human moral development, form a foundation for much third-generation feminist political theory. But Gilligan's methodology has been highly criticized by feminist theorists for its exclusively Caucasian upper-middle class bias and for replicating much of Kohlberg's logic. Gilligan found "women's morality" based on an ethic of care, nurturance and sustaining relationships develops from women's subjective experiences of daily living. She argued this differed from men's more objective moral development which is based primarily on the values of justice and rights.

Iris Young's Response: "Representation of Social Group Difference"

Theorists such as Iris Young argue Gilligan focused her findings too narrowly on gender issues and overlooked important group dynamics of difference and power relationships (1990a). Young argues that the relative political and economic powerlessness of females, not their gender, is at the core of many of Gilligan's early gender difference findings. Young extends Gilligan's concept of "a different gendered voice," to include a more diverse postmodern philosophy of social group difference. She defines current American politics and justice as

institutional domination and group oppression based on social group difference. She calls for a theory of justice and politics that respects and recognizes group difference. Young argues "for principles and practices that establish procedures for ensuring that each group's voice is heard in the public through institutions of group representation." (1990a, 12) She concludes, as did Weissberg and Hurley who were discussed earlier, that "group representation is the best means to promote just outcomes to democratic decision-making process." (1990b, 130)

Joan Tronto: Moving Beyond "Women's Morality" to a Non-Gendered "Ethic of Care"

Gilligan argues "the moral imperative...for women is an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the 'real and recognizable trouble' of this world. For men, the moral imperative ...is to respect the right of others and thus to protect from interference the rights to life and self-fulfillment." (1993,100) In contrast, Joan Tronto argues it is necessary to move away from the sex-role dichotomy of "women's morality."

Like Young, Tronto argues that the strong perception of morality and care as "feminine" traits help "preserve the distribution of power and privilege along not only gender lines, but lines of class, race, ethnicity, education, and other lines as well." (1993b, 91) She expands Gilligan's "ethic of care" beyond women to include both genders, so

care and morality can supplement our current political focus on justice and rights. Tronto argues, and I agree, that "in order for all people, men and women alike, to be fully human, it is necessary that all possess both the orientations of justice and Gilligan's ethic of care." (1993b, 86) She believes the concept of care, in the sense of taking care of someone or something in both private and public life, can be the "basis for rethinking moral boundaries...and the terrain of current moral and political life." (1993b, 101)

In this research the ethic of care or caring about is embodied in the "women's" policy agenda in policy areas as diverse and child care, domestic violence, environmental protection and government ethics reform. Tronto concludes "care is a central concern of human life. It is time we began to change our political and social institutions to reflect this truth." (1993b, 180)

Concepts and Models Used in this Research

To study the relationship between feminism, support for women's issues and policy priorities, Dolan and Ford (1995) asked female legislators to identify and rank themselves as non-feminists, weak feminists or strong feminists. This measure may have several validity problems. There are many

feminisms with diverse political ideologies and interests.⁴ Even if we assume each female legislator responding interpreted the question to measure liberal feminism (characteristic of the second wave of U.S. feminism), this alone does not indicate what level of political actions she may take as a result of her self-identification. A 1988 nationwide survey of state legislators suggests "one reason women, regardless of whether they identify themselves as feminist, may be more supportive of feminist policies than men is that women more commonly experience gender-based discrimination." (Dodson, 1991,21) This hypothesis is consistent with interview findings among Colorado and Arizona legislators that female legislators "were much more likely to mention representing women, whether intentionally or unintentionally, explicitly or implicitly." (Reingold, 1992, 515)

In this research both "attitudinal" and "behavioral" feminism are measured; the distinction between them is important. Legislators may not publicly acknowledge nor privately recognize and label their support for women's issues as feminist. This may be particularly true for legislators unaffiliated with feminist organizations or who

⁴Major world feminisms include, but are not limited to, liberal feminism (the most dominant feminism in the United States), classical Marxist feminism, socialist feminism (both built on class consciousness and inter-class struggle), post-modern liberal feminism, radical feminism, and lesbian separatism.

may disagree with one or more major policy positions of national women's groups. Others may include many Republican female legislators whose personal views on some women's issues, including reproductive issues, conflict with their national political party platform.

Very descriptively this unacknowledged advocacy for the interests of women's increased equality has been named "the closet feminist syndrome." (Carroll, 1984) This term is unfortunate; instead of being inclusive of those who support policies beneficial for women, it divides and isolates them. It invokes the very images (and homophobia) which may have originally distanced or alienated otherwise supportive allies on many women's policy issues from the "feminist" label.

"Even women (state legislators) who reject the feminist label are more likely to support feminist policies than men who do not consider themselves feminist." (Dodson 1991, 21) It is gender differences in the "acting for" or the "behavioral" component of representation on women's and other issues this dissertation seeks to measure and explain. Two closely related, but conceptually different, indices, a women's policy index and a feminist policy index, are important independent variables in this research.

Traditional Women's Policy Index

The women's policy index focuses on areas which have been of traditional concern to women based largely on domestic or "home policy" (Werner, 1968,41) responsibilities. It deals with public policies "that impinge primarily on the private sphere of social life ... values associated with children and nurturance" (Sapiro, 1981, 703) or occupational "roles consistent with women's social role" such as nurse, teacher or social worker (Werner, 1968,41). These policy areas include, but are not limited to, children's issues, education, family health care, public health and social welfare.

Feminist Policy Index

A feminist policy index is "defined by the goal or direction of public policy: promoting equality for or improving the (social, political, economic, educational) status of women." (Saint-Germain, 1989, 957) The feminist policy index developed in this research has its conceptual roots in Mezey's feminism index used in a study of local government representatives in Connecticut (1978a, 489) and her indices of feminist support for women's issues in a 1974 case study of Hawaiian state legislators (1978b, 377). Mezey's Hawaii findings were mixed and failed to support her hypothesis twenty years ago. She did find female legislators were stronger "advocates" of feminist positions,

but women did not differ in policy positions (substantive representation) from their male colleagues. These findings were consistent with other 1970s studies when women held 444 or only 5.9 percent of all state legislative seats.

A 1988 nationwide telephone survey of state legislators used a feminist policy index of three issues; (1) support for the Equal Rights Amendment, (2) opposition to "parental consent" for juveniles seeking an abortion and (3) opposition to prohibiting abortion (Dodson, 1991). This study found both gender and partisanship strongly influenced support for feminist issues. "Self labeled feminists among both women and men were more likely, than non-feminist women, to score high on the feminist policy index." (1991,20) Democratic women were most supportive of "feminist" issues as defined in this index, with three legislators in five ranking "high" (more feminist). Another significant finding in that research was the equal, but lower, levels of support among Republican women and Democratic men for feminist issues. One third of each group ranked "high" on the index. But Republican males were far less supportive with fewer than ten percent indicating high levels of support for feminist issues.

There are several problems with using this policy index today. The two "abortion" related policy issues may measure a single policy opinion--one arguably strongly influenced by

specific religious beliefs held by various denominations (a variable not measured in this study).

The other limitation of this index is the datedness of the Equal Rights Amendment question which no longer appears to be a salient issue, especially among younger Americans. (I was strongly reminded of this when only two students, both adult learners, out of 300 enrolled in my undergraduate political science course could correctly identify the ERA-- not as a laundry detergent or a national real estate corporation, but the Equal Rights Amendment.)

Representing Women's "Culture"

Analysis of 1988 state legislators found that female legislators who are involved with and active in women's organizations are most active in representing "women's culture" in their legislative priorities (Carroll, 1992). Women's organizations within the legislature such as informal networks, organized womens' legislative caucuses and national organizations for female legislators also appear to provide important linkages between elected women and representing issues of particular social and economic concern to women. In a 1990 survey female legislators in California and Arizona "cited women, and women's groups as the most supportive constituency group for female officials." (Reingold, 1992,522)

The concept of "women's culture" has joint roots in nineteenth century historical studies and radical/cultural feminist theory. "Women's culture is (defined as) the commonality of women's shared interests, values, perspectives, and patterns of interaction women share as a result of the socially constructed sexual division of labor in society." (Carroll, 1992, 238) Many specific policy areas of concern are included such as children's issues, protection, child support, day care, family issues, caring for economically and disadvantaged groups, reproductive issues, teen pregnancy, poverty and welfare issues, women's rights, gender discrimination in employment, education, housing and enhancing business opportunities for women and minorities.

Nearly two-thirds of the female legislators studied (67 percent of senators and 60.2 percent of representatives) had close and active ties to women's organizations outside the legislature; and three quarters reported regularly attending and participating in women's caucus or network meetings within their legislature (Carroll, 1992). In 1989 only ten states reported having formal women's legislative caucuses; as of 1995 this had increased to twenty-six states.

This research focuses on gender differences in legislative priorities not only on "women's culture" issues but across the spectrum of policy priorities listed by state legislators serving in 1995. It examines gender differences

in the strength of linkages between legislators and 22 different organizations with their levels of support in the legislator's most recent electoral campaign. Of the studies reviewed here, those that are most significant and closely related to this current research are Carroll (1992), Kathlene (1991), Mezey (1978b), Pitkin (1967), Reingold (1992), and Thomas (1991, 1994).

Chapter four will specify the hypotheses of this research, define the variables used in this research, how and why independent variable indices were created and the detailed procedures used in conducting and analyzing data from this seven-month mail survey sent to 3,700 state legislators in the 50 states.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY, HYPOTHESES AND MEASURES

This research used a cross-sectional self administered "Dillman-style" mail survey non-experimental research design.¹ Primary data were obtained from a 1995 original nation-wide policy attitude and legislative behavior survey of U.S. state legislators in the fifty states. The survey instrument was pre-tested in mid June 1995 with ten Florida legislators. After personal debriefings and subsequent survey revisions, the instrument was mailed to 3,700 state legislators nation-wide from July through November 1995.

This chapter will discuss in detail the research problem, hypotheses, participant population, sampling procedure, survey instrument, measures, and data collection procedures used in this research.

Statement of Research Problem

The purpose of this research is to examine whether increased descriptive female representation, that is the percentage of female legislators in a chamber in U.S. state

¹For details on specifics of constructing and implementing a "Total Design Method" mail survey see chapters four and five in Mail and Telephone Surveys by Don A. Dillman (1978).

legislatures has resulted in substantive representation for women on distinctively "gendered-policy" issues. Many of these "gendered" policy areas are classified as being either components of a "women's policy agenda" or a "feminist policy agenda." Impacts of linkages between legislators and traditional women's and feminist organizations, and the presence of (and legislator's participation in) a women's legislative caucus on substantive policy representation are examined.

Furthermore, this research tests for significant gender differences in legislative priorities and legislative effectiveness in sponsoring and passing a wide spectrum of "gender-neutral" policies state legislators identified as their personal legislative priorities during the 1995 sessions.

Hypotheses

There are six main hypotheses in this research. The first hypothesis is that as the percentage of female state legislators in a state increases, women provide increasingly substantive "gender-related" representation for women's traditional policy concerns that differs from representation by male state legislators. The second hypothesizes a positive relationship between the perception of a distinctive "women's policy agenda" and actual legislative behavior of female legislators on behalf of women's policy

concerns. The third hypothesis is that female legislators are significantly more likely to work in policy coalitions with other groups to get their priority bills passed. The fourth hypothesis is that female legislators are significantly more effective sponsors of women's traditional policy bills than their male colleagues. Hypothesis five states female legislators will be equally as effective as male legislators to successfully sponsor and pass "gender-neutral" legislation. Hypothesis six states being a member of an effective women's legislative caucus is positively related to members' personal support for feminist public policies.

Factors hypothesized to be significant in the emergence of a distinctive gender-related "women's policy" and "feminist policy" agenda include the presence of and strength of an organized women's legislative political caucus, increased linkages between female legislators and organized women's political groups, the frequency of policy coalitions with supportive male colleagues on "gendered issues" and other priority legislation and the presence of women in legislative committee positions of influence in policy areas of traditional concern to women and in committee positions of influence over bills seeking greater equality for women, that is feminist legislation.

A summary of major hypotheses is shown in Figure 4.1 on the next page.

- H₁ As the percentage of female state legislators in a state increase, women provide increasingly substantive "gender-related" representation for women's traditional policy concerns that differs from representation by male state legislators.
- H₂ There is a positive relationship between the perception of a distinctive "women's policy agenda" and actual legislative behavior of female legislators on behalf of women's policy concerns through the sponsorship of bills in these policy areas.
- H₃ Female legislators are significantly more likely than their male counterparts to work in policy coalitions with other groups in order to get their priority bills passed.
- H₄ Female legislators are significantly more effective sponsors of women's traditional policy bills than their male colleagues.
- H₅ Female legislators will be as effective as their male counterparts in successfully sponsoring their priority bills in "gender-neutral" policy areas.
- H₆ Being a member of an effective women's legislative caucus is positively related to members' personal support for feminist public policy issues.

Figure 4.1 Research Hypotheses

Sample and Participants in this Research

Preliminary state legislator contact information including name, chamber, mailing address, gender and partisanship was obtained from the *Election Results Directory* (1995 edition) published by the National

Conference of State Legislatures. Gender information was verified using the then most recent *National Directory of Women Elected Officials* (1993) published by the National Women's Political Caucus. Updated 1995 data on the number of women serving in each legislative chamber were provided by the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) at Rutgers University. Ethnicity data were obtained from the *Black Elected Officials National Roster* (1993), the 1994 *National Roster of Hispanic Elected Officials* and updated for legislators elected in 1994 through direct contacts with State House Clerks and State Senate Secretaries in various states.

How Sample was Obtained

All 1,535 female state legislators in office July 1, 1995 and a random stratified comparison sample of 2,177 male legislators were identified for this research. Twelve of the female legislators listed had left office through resignations prior to the first survey mailing. This reduced the female legislator population to 1523 at the time the survey instruments were first administered.

Previous multi-state legislative survey research studies conducted in 1988 and 1990 indicate female legislator response rates varied from 14 to 20 percent higher than survey response rates among their male

counterparts.² To compensate for an anticipated lower response rate among male legislators, a minimum male comparison sample equal to 120 percent of the female legislator population in each chamber was selected for this research. The male legislator comparison sample was chosen using a random digits table.³ This random sample was systematically stratified by legislative chamber, partisanship and ethnicity to match as closely as possible those characteristics of female legislators in each legislative chamber. Special efforts to intentionally oversample the males on the ethnicity variable (African-American, Latino, and Native American) in 40 states increased the total male sample to 2177 or 142 percent of the female legislator population. A total of 1,111 legislators (494 females and 617 males) representing all fifty states returned completed surveys.

²Susan Carroll (1991) and Debra L. Dodson (1994), analyzed a 1988 Center for the American Woman and Politics nationwide survey which obtained a 14% gender response rate difference. Sue Thomas (1991, 1994) found a 17% gender difference in the twelve state sample Susan Welch and she collected Summer 1988. A 1990 national survey found a 20% gender difference in response rates (McLean, 1994).

³Random digits table used in the male legislator sample selection is Table A.1 pages 367-8 (Appendix A) in Empirical Political Analysis Research Methods in Political Science (Manheim and Rich, 1991).

Necessary Sample Size for Statistical Procedures

Much of this research uses multivariate regression analysis. But some preliminary difference of means testing gender differences (t-tests) and correlations, using Cronbach's Alpha coefficient were necessary. Therefore, a 0.8 power analysis with the standard 0.05 significance level required a minimum total sample of 786 participants and a minimum gender sample size of 393 be obtained.⁴ The number of state legislators participating in this research, 1,111, exceeds the power analysis minimum required. This is important to avoid making a Type II error (that is failing to reject the null hypothesis although it is false, due to small effects of independent variables on the dependent variable).

Response Rates

Returned surveys or letters of decline were received from 515 female legislators representing every state except Alabama and from 644 male legislators representing all fifty states. The overall completed survey response rate for female legislators was 33.97 percent and 29.68 percent for the male legislators. Eliminating nearly incomplete surveys, legislators who returned blank surveys declining to participate, and returned surveys for which no accurate

⁴See Table 5.1 Power Analysis for a t-test. (Rudestam and Newton, 1992), page 65.

delivery address was found were dropped from this study.⁵ This resulted in a net total of 1,111 completed questionnaires, 494 from females and 617 from males used in this analysis.

Representativeness of the Sample

Although these response rates were lower than hoped for, they are consistent with previous mail surveys of political elites. Table 4.1 shows the female legislator sample stratified by chamber and party identification is within + 1.6 percent for Democratic women and - 1.96 percent for Republican women of the actual percentage of female representatives in the 1995 female state legislator population. The female state senator sample is within + 2.68 percent for Democratic women and - 1.24 percent for Republican women. The six female members of the Nebraska Unicameral Senate who responded are counted in their partisan total (five Democrats and one Republican), although they are elected in non-partisan elections. This may have reduced the overall accuracy of the sample for independents.

⁵Of the 1535 female legislators listed as "in office" as of July 1, 1997 (CAWP data) twelve had already resigned prior to the administration of this survey. Another 21 female legislators were dropped from this research. Eleven declined to participate, three legislator's gender were incorrectly listed as female, one died while in office, and despite repeated best efforts and mailings, valid addresses were unavailable for another six female legislators. There was a similar decline among the males resulting in 27 male legislators being dropped from the original sample.

TABLE 4.1 Female Legislators in Sample

	DEMOCRAT	INDEPENDENT	REPUBLICAN
Number of State House Members	215	2	164
Percent in sample	56.43%	0.176%	43.04%
Percent in Pop.	54.83%	0.176%	45.00%
Percent Difference from Population	+ 1.60%	0.000%	- 1.96%
Number of Senators	66	3	44
Percent in sample	58.40%	2.65%	38.94%
Percent in Pop.	55.72%	6.15%	40.18%
Percent Difference from Population	+ 2.68%	- 3.50%	- 1.24%

As can be seen in Table 4.2 the male legislator sample stratified by legislative chamber and party identification is significantly more Republican and therefore, less Democratic than is the female sample, + 7.17 percent in state Houses, and + 9.21 percent in state Senates. However, as can be seen in Table 4.2, the male senator sample is even more representative of the male legislator population than is the female sample to its population. The male Senate sample is within - 0.43 percent for Democratic men and + 1.68 percent for Republican men of their actual percentage in the 1995 male state senate population. The five male members of the Nebraska Unicameral Senate who responded are

counted in their partisan total (three Democrats and two Republicans). In the state houses the male legislator sample is within - 3.05 percent for Democratic representatives and within + 1.85 percent for Republican representatives.

TABLE 4.2 Male Legislators in Sample

	DEMOCRAT	INDEP	REPUBLICAN	OTHER
Number of State House Members	234	4	242	2 ¹
Percent in sample	48.55%	0.83%	50.21%	0.04%
Percent in Pop.	51.60%		48.36%	0.04%
Percent Difference from Population	- 3.05%		+ 1.85%	0.0%
Number of Senators	69	1	65	
Percent in sample	51.11%	0.74%	48.15%	
Percent in Pop.	51.54%	1.89%	46.47%	
Percent Difference from Population	- 0.43%	-1.15%	+ 1.68%	

¹ Includes two male Libertarians.

Appropriateness of the Survey Instrument

The self-administered mail survey has been an empirical political science research tool used to study the legislative opinions and behavior of U.S. female state legislators since the mid 1960s (Werner, 1968). A lengthy national mail survey which included female state legislative

candidates and incumbents was conducted in 1976 by Susan Carroll. It provided data for her dissertation and for subsequent books on the campaign activities of female candidates and their group sources of campaign support (Carroll, 1985, 1994).⁶ Two other more recent sub-national opinion surveys that examined gender differences in state legislative attitudes, legislative activities and policies priorities are closely related to this research. These are a 1988 twelve-state study of state representatives (Thomas and Welch, 1991; Thomas, 1991, 1994)⁷, and a 1990 questionnaire administered to state legislators in both chambers of the Arizona and California legislatures (Reingold, 1992a).⁸ A 1992 national survey of female legislators which focused on their committee assignments and

⁶A full copy of the 1976 "Survey of Candidates for Public Office" used by Susan Carroll in these works can be found in *Women as Candidates in American Politics* 2nd edition. Appendix B "Questionnaire" on pages 180-191 (1994).

⁷A copy of the 1988 survey instrument administered by Sue Thomas and Susan Welch can be found as Appendix C in Thomas' book *How Women Legislate* (1994), pages 181-187.

⁸Reingold used this questionnaire as a follow-up to previous in-person interviews with legislators. A copy of the questionnaire was provided by her to the author (personal correspondence January 4, 1994). A published copy of the instrument can be found as Appendix 2b "Sample Written Questionnaire", in her doctoral dissertation (1992a), pages 513-518.

legislative priorities has also been particularly helpful in designing this research instrument (Dolan and Ford, 1995).⁹

Legislator's Personal Policy Priorities

Among the most important concepts in this current research are gender differences in legislator's self-identified personal legislative policy area priorities. Other scholars who have measured this concept in similar ways include Reingold's preliminary interview questions and Ford and Dolan's 1992 survey of female legislators.

For a complete copy of the 1995 survey instrument(s) used in this doctoral research see Appendix C. Questions one and two of the survey instrument asked legislators to identify the three most important legislative issues in their chamber during the 1995 session and their top three personal legislative priorities for 1995. Questions three and four asked legislators to identify the three most important pieces of legislation they sponsored and the level of success toward enactment each received. Although altered to measure legislative outcome, these questions are most similar in concept (and structure) to questions 13 through 17 of Thomas' 1988 survey instrument.

⁹A copy of the 1992 survey instrument was provided through personal correspondence by Dr. Lynne E. Ford (1995). Research findings from this survey are reported in "The Politics of Women State Legislators: A South/Non-South Comparison" (Ford and Dolan, 1994) and "Women in the State Legislatures: Feminist Identity and Legislative Behaviors" (Dolan and Ford, 1995).

"Women's Culture": Linkages to Women's Legislative Caucuses

This research accepts as a foundation and then builds on Carroll's political concept of "women's culture". She defines it as "the shared interests of women, which can lead to common values, perspectives and patterns of interaction, resulting from their (women's) position(s) in the sexual division of labor." (1992,26)

She found female legislators with active linkages to women's legislative caucuses and formal organized women's groups outside the legislative chamber were significantly more likely than men or other women to work on legislation benefiting women. They were also more likely to have as their priority legislation that focuses on economic, social, education and health issues important to women. These findings suggest "women's networks and organizations, both inside and outside (the legislature), play a vital role in linking women officeholders to women's culture." (Carroll, 1992,38)

This current study expands empirical research on the differing impacts and roles of women's legislative caucuses on female legislator's advocacy and success in sponsoring legislation related to "women's culture" issues. It also examines whether the level of formal organization, partisanship, inclusion of male caucus members and the presence of a caucus policy agenda are significant in the

substantive representation of traditional "women's" issues or feminist issues. At the individual legislator level the impact of membership, active participation and leadership in such a caucus on the legislator's personal legislative priorities is studied.

Scholarship studying gender differences in legislative support for "feminist" and women's issues during the 1980s, by default, sampled from the largely Democratic, primarily ideologically liberal population of female state legislators prior to the 1994 elections. In subsequent state legislative elections, the partisan composition of the female legislator population has begun to shift towards increased political party parity.

In November 1994, more than one hundred female Democratic incumbents lost reelection bids, while 97 percent of female Republican state legislative incumbents were reelected. Another 221 Republican female legislators were elected to their first legislative terms. Of these, 88 challengers defeated female Democratic incumbents and 133 won open-seat races. As of March 1997, female Democratic legislators continue to outnumber, but not overwhelmingly, their female Republican counterparts in both legislative chambers.¹⁰ This more bipartisan population of female

¹⁰As of March 1997 there were 360 female Senators (210 Democrats, 136 Republicans, 13 non-Partisans serving in the Nebraska unicameral Senate, and one Independent) and 1233 female Representatives (725 Democrats, 505 Republicans, and three Independents).

legislators provides a new opportunity to view more clearly legislative gender differences as they interact with partisanship and ideology.

An increasing diversity of personal experience, ideology, ethnicity and education exists among legislators. Varying levels of support for traditional "women's issues" and the presence or degree of feminist self-identification and partisanship among women are likely to result in increased diversity among women (and perhaps also among men) in their support for "women's culture."

"Women's Culture": Linkages to Formal Women's Organizations

A 1988 telephone survey of state legislators conducted by the Center for the American Woman and Politics found nearly two-thirds of female legislators were involved with formal women's organizations. Both Carroll and Reingold asked survey questions to measure the level of campaign support for or opposition to state legislators from various formal organizations.

Carroll's research focused on how many female legislators were members of two specifically feminist organizations and three traditional women's groups.¹¹ Her

¹¹Carroll's research on representing "women's culture" examined how many female legislators were members of the following organizations: the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Womens' Political Caucus (NWPC), the League of Women Voters (LWV), the American Association of University Women (AAUW), or the Association of Business and Professional Women (BPW). See Carroll in Bystydzienski

open-ended questions (15 and 16) on the 1976 survey inquired about groups that provided campaign support (endorsed, made financial contributions, or provided workers) and those that opposed female candidates in their most recent election.

These questions have been restructured into a close-ended check-off format, and significantly expanded for this research. Additional questions were added to measure whether legislators were members, actively supported or participated in these organizations. The expanded list of organizations include business, professional, civic, "anti-feminist" (such as the Christian Coalition), Pro-Life and Pro-Choice groups, as well as traditional women's, and overtly pro-feminist groups.

Traditional "Women's" Policy Index

Both the traditional "women's policy" index and the "feminist policy" index discussed in the next section have their conceptual roots in Saint-Germain's seventeen year longitudinal study of Arizona legislators (1989). Methodological roots of both indices stem from Hawaii legislative research and comparative studies of local government legislative bodies in Connecticut during the 1970s by Susan Gluck Mezey (1978a, 1978b).

Saint-Germain defined her traditional women's policy index to include "abortion, children, education, family,

(1992).

public health, sex, and welfare." (1989,961) For this current research abortion is dropped from this definition, and replaced with Pro-Life (in the women's agenda) and Pro-Choice (in the feminist agenda). Mezey created four sub-indices of support for women and women's issues (1978b, 377). A cautionary note is appropriate here to acknowledge that both of Mezey's studies failed to find a significant relationship between policy impact on feminist goals and the election of increased numbers of women. This finding is inconsistent with more recent research from the 1980s.

I believe, based on subsequent research and my own analysis, that Mezey's hypotheses and indices were not flawed. Her failure to reject the null hypothesis appears to have been more strongly influenced by the much lower percentage of Hawaiian female legislators in 1974 and the very small female sample sizes in both her analyses.¹² Her study included eight current and three previous female state legislators. In 1974 only five percent of Hawaii's state legislators were female; by 1995 this had increased to 19.7 percent or fifteen of Hawaii's legislators. I suspect Mezey's research was too early for enough female legislators

¹²Mezey interviewed fifty females elected to local governing bodies in Connecticut during 1976-77 (1978a). Her Hawaii study included personal interviews with female candidates and female legislators using standardized questionnaires (1978b). The female sample included 22 local and state officeholders and was aggregated together for analysis. There were only 11 female legislators in the sample (those who served during the 1974 and 1976 legislative sessions). See Table 1, page 376 (1978b).

to be included in the study to result in a significant finding.

In this research, support for a women's policy index is created using four indicators. These are designed to measure support for funding (SPENDWOM) in areas of traditional female responsibility, for example child care, early childhood education, prenatal health care and spouse abuse shelters. This structure simulates political funding decision choices that state legislators actually make.

Feminist Policy Index

Unlike the "women's policy" index, the "feminist policy index" is mostly concerned with the direction of support on policy issues, for example increasing the equality of women compared to men, rather than specific policy content areas. It focuses on policy positions that attempt to improve the quality of women's economic, social, and political status. Feminist political scientists summarize this agenda as "making the personal political." This feminist agenda focuses primarily on issues that have adversely affected women, children and their families. In 1987 a coalition of sixteen presidents of national feminist groups¹³ named the

¹³This "Council" included the presidents of NOW, NWPC, BPW, AAUW, and other traditional women's organizations.

"Council of Presidents" met and formalized their "feminist" agenda.¹⁴

The feminist policy index (FEMINDX) in this research builds upon Saint-Germain's basic concepts. It also has roots in the feminism index developed by Susan Gluck Mezey (1978) in her analysis of local female politicians in Connecticut and Beth Reingold's more recent battery of feminist issue questions.¹⁵

This feminist policy index (FEMINDX) has five indicators with responses based on a five-point Likert scale. Questions measure legislators' level of support for stronger enforcement to collect unpaid child support, increasing the percentage of public medical research funds for women's diseases (osteoporosis, breast cancer) and increasing the number of women appointed to public office. Also included are questions about stronger enforcement of sexual harassment laws and the need for protection against sexual job discrimination against women. The final question

¹⁴Their feminist public policy agenda included; (the) "Revival of the ERA, reproductive rights and government funding of reproductive health care for all women; equal pay for work of comparable worth; a federal policy of unpaid leave for men and women for disability, childbirth, adoption, or to care for ill dependents; an increase in the minimum wage; a federal child-care program; welfare reform to include job training, income maintenance and medical care (Hartmann 1989, 186-7).

¹⁵See Beth Reingold's Appendix 2b "Sample Written Questionnaire", page 517, Section F in her dissertation "Representing women: Gender differences among Arizona and California state legislators" (1992a).

concerns teen access to effective birth control through public funded health departments.

Excepting the child support question, these items were adapted from the politics and legislation section of a 1975 Attitudes toward Feminist Issues Scale (ATFI) by Elmore, Brodsky, and Naffziger (1975). The ATFI scale was developed "from paraphrasing the resolutions of the 1970 national convention platform of the National Organization for Women." (Beere, 1979,389)

I added the stronger legal sanctions against parents who owe back child support indicator, but subsequently had to drop it. More effective enforcement and stronger sanctions for unpaid support have recently become very salient state policy issues. Legislative leaders projected they would become important policy agenda items in 22 state legislatures during the 1995 sessions.¹⁶ However, responses to this question performed poorly due to a lack of difference (variance) of opinion on the issue. Of the 1073 legislators who answered, 950 (88.5 percent) agreed stronger legal sanctions should be enforced against non-custodial parents who were delinquent in paying child support (409 agreed and 541 strongly agreed).

¹⁶See Table 13. "Public Assistance: Reform Efforts in 1995" in State Legislative Priorities 1995: An Opinion Survey of Leading Lawmakers, National Conference of State Legislatures (January 1995).

Variables In This Research

This research examines how gender interacts with partisanship and ethnicity to explain differences in the levels of support for traditional women's policies and feminist policies as expressed in legislator's self-identified personal legislative priorities and in the bills male and female state legislators sponsored during the 1995 sessions. It examines the effectiveness of women's legislative caucuses, and the roles of linkages between legislators with women's and feminist organizations on representing "women's culture". It also examines the impact of gender and partisanship differences in coalition building activities on a legislator's effectiveness.

For a model of this research design see Figure 4.2 on the next page. It includes the important independent, contextual and dependent variables of this research that will be described in more detail.

Dependent Variables

There are six major dependent variables in this research, including support for women's traditional policies in bills sponsored (WPOLICY) and support for feminist policies (FPOLICY) in bills sponsored by the legislator. The success of getting a legislator's top priority bills passed, regardless of the policy content area, is also

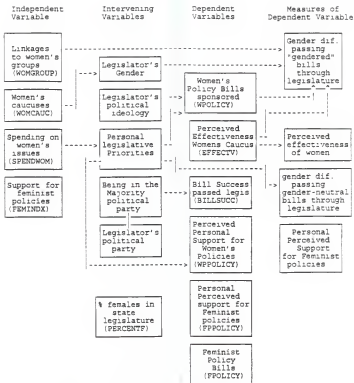


Figure 4.2 Research Variables and Design

measured (BILLSUCC). Institutional and political factors can often reduce a legislator's ability to actually sponsor bills during a session. Two additional dependent variables attempt to measure legislators' personal support for either "women's traditional" policies (WPPOLICY) or "feminist" policies (FPPOLICY), regardless of whether or not they sponsored bills in that policy area.

The final dependent variable applies only to the thirty states whose legislators reported having a women's formal or informal legislative caucus. This variable is an index measuring the perceived effectiveness (EFFECTV) of the women's legislative political caucus.

Independent Variables

There are four independent variables in this research. Participation in a women's caucus within the legislative chamber and linkages to formal women's organizations outside the legislature are essential to this analysis. An important explanatory independent variable in this research is the strength of linkages between a legislator and seven women's and feminist groups (WOMGROUP). This variable includes whether or not the legislator is a member of, received campaign contributions from or was endorsed by these organizations in the last (re)election campaign. The legislator's level of participation in a women's political

legislative caucus (WCAUCUS) is also an important independent variable.

The remaining two independent indices have already been discussed briefly earlier in this chapter. They include an attitudes index of support for spending on issues of women's traditional responsibility (SPENDWOM) such as pre-kindergarten education, prenatal health care, subsidized child care and support of abuse and domestic violence shelters. The final independent index measures levels of attitudinal support for feminist issues (FEMINDX) designed to increase the social, economic, political and education status of females in comparison to males. These variables and their construction are defined in greater detail in Appendix D.

Intervening and Contextual Variables

The following institutional and individual legislator variables are used as independent contextual variables in this research.

Political ideology. Legislators are asked to identify their "overall general political beliefs" on a scale from one, very liberal to seven, very conservative.

Percentage of female legislators. The percentage of female legislators by party and chamber includes women serving (combined elected/appointed) in each state legislature. These data were provided by the Center for the

American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. This information is updated annually and available from the Center for the American Woman and Politics in their Women in Elective Office Fact Sheets.¹⁷

Legislative professionalism. Data on the professionalism of state legislatures use the index created by Peverill Squire as published in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* February 1992.

¹⁷Their address is The Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901, and can be reached by phone at area code (732) 828-2210 or through its internet web site at <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cawp>.

CHAPTER 5 DATA ANALYSIS RESULTS AND FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the data analysis and statistical procedures used to study responses from 1,111 mail surveys from state legislators nation-wide. It describes important demographic characteristics of the state legislator sample and legislative caucus members. It tests the six research hypotheses and presents the results. Statistical tests including frequency distributions, cross-tabulations, means, t-tests (for the difference of two means), correlations (using Cronbach's alpha), and multiple regression analysis (PROC REG) were conducted. Data were analyzed using SAS.¹

Description of Legislator Sample

Gender and Partisanship

The sample in this analysis includes 494 female and 617 male state legislators from all fifty states. Just over

¹SAS is an integrated statistical software system for data access, management, analysis and presentation. SAS is a licensed proprietary software system of SAS Institute Inc., Cary, North Carolina 27513. It was used for this analysis under site license agreement with the University of Florida through the Department of Political Science.

three-quarters (77.7 percent) or 863 legislators are state representatives, and the remaining 248 (22.3 percent) are state senators. The sample is slightly more Democratic (53.5 percent) than Republican (46.3 percent), and also includes ten Independents, two Progressives and one Socialist. Democratic and Republican partisanship by chamber and legislator's gender are within three percent of their actual percentage in the 1995 population of all state legislators.

Ethnicity

Despite best efforts to draw an ethnically diverse and representative sample, over 90 percent (91.6 percent) of this sample is Caucasian compared to 83 percent Caucasian in the 1995 legislator population. Ninety-two legislators, 41 females and 51 males in this sample are ethnic "minorities". This includes 38 African-Americans, eight Asian/Pacific Islanders, one Cuban-American, 14 Mexican-Americans, seven Native Americans and two Puerto Ricans.

"Women of Color"

In 1995 nearly 17 percent of all female legislators were "women of color". In this research, they are under represented by half as their combined percentage is only 8.5 percent in the sample. As separate ethnic groups the "women of color" sample range from a low of 12.6 percent to a high

of 25.7 percent of their population percentages. This sample includes 21 (or 12.6 percent) of the total 167 African-American female legislators. It includes nine (or 25.7 percent) of the thirty-five Latina legislators (combining Mexican-Americans, Puerto-Ricans and Cuban-Americans).² Two (or 25 percent) of the eight female Native American legislators replied, as did five of their male counterparts. Two (or 18.2 percent) of the eleven Asian/Pacific Islander female legislators and six of their male counterparts are also included.

Education

Only five legislators in this study did not complete high school, and 97 (or 8.9 percent) report high school as their highest level of formal education. More than ninety percent of legislators in this sample attended college. There is no significant gender difference in education among legislators. Nearly twelve percent (11.8 percent) or 128 legislators graduated from two-year junior or community colleges. Of the remaining 845 legislators, 362 (or 43

²This combination of Mexican-Americans, Cuban-Americans, and Puerto Ricans into the "category" Latina was done for comparison with female Latina population numbers as published by the Center for the American Woman and Politics. Previous research indicates the high socioeconomic status, and conservative Republican partisanship among the small percentage of the Hispanic population that is Cuban-American makes political and policy analysis of this single grouping problematic (Hero, 1992). For analysis purposes the sole Cuban-American female legislator in the sample is not included in the Latina category.

percent) completed four year degrees, one-third (275) completed master's degrees, one-fifth (164) completed professional degrees in law, medicine, or engineering and five percent (44) successfully completed doctorate degrees.

Legislator as an Occupation

Many legislators serve only part-time in their elected positions, especially in "citizen" legislatures which have low pay and meet in short legislative sessions. Legislators frequently have other primary, and sometimes secondary, occupations in order to maintain a "livable" or sustainable income.

Fewer than forty percent (38.5 percent) or 420 of the legislators in this study were not employed in addition to their duties as state legislator. Only 16 percent (172 legislators) listed legislator as their primary occupation, 27 percent (105 legislators) listed legislator as their secondary occupation, and 20.5 percent of those listing three occupations listed legislator as their tertiary occupation.

One third, 222, of legislators with other jobs are employed part-time. Another quarter (24 percent) of "employed" legislators, 161, work full time only between sessions. The remaining 43 percent, 288 legislators, are employed full time year-round even while they are in legislative session.

Ninety percent of legislators in this sample report they are either very satisfied (42 percent or 455) or mostly satisfied (47 percent or 506) with their legislative careers. Nine percent of legislators reported being sometimes dissatisfied (97). Only 2.5 percent or 27 legislators (12 females and 15 males) reported being frequently dissatisfied with their legislative careers.

More than half of the "dissatisfied" legislators narrowly won their most recent election with a vote margin of ten percent or less. Over 80 percent or 22 of them indicate they are either liberal (13) or moderate (9).³ Only three conservative legislators report they are frequently dissatisfied. Nearly half of these legislators are members of "super sized" very large legislatures, particularly in Minnesota (201 members), New Hampshire (424 members), and Vermont (180 members). Both having a "liberal" ideology and being a member of a large chamber are significantly correlated with being a "dissatisfied" legislator.⁴

³Thirteen "dissatisfied" legislators reported their ideology as liberal ranging from 1 to 3.5, another nine were moderates with ideology scores ranging from 4 to 5.5 on a scale of one (most liberal) to seven (most conservative).

⁴Ideology is negatively and significantly correlated with being "frequently" dissatisfied ($r = -0.63$ $p < .05$), while being a member of a large sized legislature is positively correlated with "dissatisfaction" ($r = 0.60$ $p < .05$).

Occupations Outside the Legislature

Although state legislators were once nearly exclusively attorneys, increased occupational diversity is strongly evident in this sample. Legislators report having a combined total of 209 different occupations and skilled trades. Legislators were given the option of indicating up to three occupations, including legislator, from fifteen close-ended occupational choices and an open-ended "other" category. The second most frequent occupational choice, after legislator, was the 195 "other" specified responses.

Among legislators' primary occupations, 16.2 percent (175) own businesses, 15.8 percent (171) are educators, and 11.2 percent (121) are attorneys. "Legislator" was the most frequent response as a second occupation (27.5 percent or 105 legislators), followed by "other" (23.1 percent or 89 legislators), and being retired (11.4 percent or 44 legislators). Twenty-five legislators reported second occupations in the professions and twenty-five were employed in real estate. Third occupations were very similar to second occupation replies.

Legislator's Age

Legislators in this sample ranged in age from 24 to 85 years old. Previous research has found female legislators often enter political office in their late forties as a second career after child rearing. Male legislators more

frequently enter politics as first careers shortly after completing their formal college education, while they are in their mid to late twenties. In this sample there was no significant gender difference in legislators' ages, with both female and male legislators' averaging 52 years old.

Marital Status

Nearly four of five legislators in this sample, 78.9 percent or 854 legislators, are married. Eight and eight-tenths percent or 95 legislators, are single, 7.9 percent or 86 legislators are divorced or separated and 4.4 percent or 48 are widowed. There is no significant gender difference in legislators' marital status.

Legislators' Children

More than 85 percent of the legislators (485 females and 588 males) have children. Female legislators are more likely to have children than male legislators, but the difference is not significant. The number of children ranged from one to twenty.⁵ Female legislators are significantly more likely to have fewer children and older "youngest" children than their male counterparts.⁶ Eighty-

⁵Data for legislators reporting having seventeen and twenty children were re-verified.

⁶Female legislators mean = 2.7 while male legislators mean = 3.1. The t-test coefficient for "youngest" child is $T = -3.6$ $p < 0.0003$).

six percent of legislators have four or fewer children. One-third, 32.9 percent or 300 legislators have two children, another quarter, 25.4 percent or 232 legislators, have three children and approximately equal percentages have either one child, 13.5 percent or 123 legislators, or four children, 14.6 percent or 133 legislators. Only ten legislators report having ten or more children. For both genders, the more children a legislator has is positively and significantly correlated with the legislator's support for spending on traditional women's issues and support of women's issues (SPENDWOM).⁷

Children's Ages

Whether children are infants, pre-schoolers in day care, old enough to attend school full days, teen aged minors, or independent adults living outside the legislators' homes may be significant. Each age group affects a legislator's family child care responsibilities differently. Personal experience appears to influence male and female legislators' personal policy opinions in support of family-oriented and traditional "women's" issues.

Legislators' youngest children in this sample ranged in age from four infants (less than a year old) to an adult "child" age fifty-three. Thirty-four youngest children, 3.9

⁷The number of children (NUMKIDS) is positively and significantly correlated with a legislators support for spending on traditional women's issues ($R = 0.122$ $p < 0.0003$).

percent are infants or toddlers age two and under. A combined total of 64 children, 7.4 percent are pre-schoolers under the age of six. Legislators have 146 youngest children who attend elementary or junior high school (ages six to fourteen). Another 89 youngest children were high school teenagers (ages 15 to 18). Combined, these 299 children, all of whom are still legally minors, make up just over one-third (34.4 percent) of all legislators' "youngest" children. They represent substantial child care, educational, financial, and parenting responsibilities for their legislator parents. In regression analysis, the age of legislators' "youngest" child is significant and negatively related to their personal support for women's issues (WPPOLICY) regardless of whether they sponsor bills in this area.⁸ Legislators with younger children tend to be more supportive of traditional women's policy issues. For a summary of the sample's demographics see Table 5.1 on the next page.

Hypotheses Testing

This section operationalizes each of the six research hypotheses into quantitative models, tests each hypothesis

⁸The partial regression coefficient for the age of the legislators' youngest child is $T = -2.38$ $p < 0.0175$, and for support for spending on women's issues is $T = 3.28$ $p < 0.0011$. Both are significant ($F = 5.207$ $p < 0.0015$) in explaining the variance in personal support for women's policies (regardless of bill sponsorship).

TABLE 5.1 Legislator Sample Demographics

CHARACTERISTIC	FEMALE LEGISLATORS	MALE LEGISLATORS	FULL SAMPLE
Gender	494	617	1,111
Democrat	281	303	584
Republican	208	307	515
Ideology	3.8	4.5	4.2
Senators	113 ^a	135 ^a	248
Representatives	381 ^b	482 ^c	863
Ethnicity			
African-American	21	17	3.5%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2	6	0.7%
Caucasian	443	545	91.6%
Mexican-American	6	6	1.1%
Native American	2	5	0.6%
Puerto Rican	2	0	0.2%
Education			
High School	7.8%	9.8%	8.9%
Two year degree	11.9%	11.7%	11.8%
Bachelor degree	35.8%	31.4%	33.4%
Masters degree	28.0%	23.4%	25.4%
Professional	9.5%	19.7%	15.1%
Doctoral degree	5.3%	3.0%	4.9%
Divorced/Separated	12.1%	4.5%	7.9%
Married	73.2%	83.5%	78.9%
Single	7.2%	10.1%	8.8%
Widowed	7.6%	1.8%	4.4%
% Have Children	86.2%	85.5%	85.6%
Mean Number of Kids	2.7	3.1	3.0

Notes: ^aIncludes 3 female and 1 male Independents.

^bIncludes 2 female Independents.

^cIncludes 2 male Independents, and 2 male Socialists.

on the sample data and reports the quantitative findings of this research.

Increased Percentage of Female Legislators and the
Substantive Representation of Women's Traditional Policy

The first hypothesis of this research states that as the percentage of female state legislators in a state increases, women provide increasingly substantive "gender-related" representation for women's traditional policy concerns that differs from representation by male state legislators. The null hypothesis could not be rejected and therefore, hypothesis one was not supported by the data in this research.

A t-test indicates female legislators do sponsor significantly more priority bills in areas of women's traditional policies than their male colleagues.⁹ These policy areas include legislation concerning child abuse, children and youth, child support, cultural affairs, public education (kindergarten through grade twelve), services for the elderly and aging, human services, juvenile crime, and pro-life issues.

The percent of female legislators in the states during 1995 ranged from a low of 3.6 percent in Alabama to a high of 39.5 percent in Washington. A correlation analysis between the percentage of female legislators in a state and

⁹The T statistic for this procedure is 3.96 at the $p < 0.0001$ level.

the number of reported bills sponsored in women's policy areas indicated the relationship was not significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.¹⁰ This suggests the data do not support hypothesis one. The null hypothesis, that there is no significant relationship between the percentage of female legislators and bills sponsored supporting women's traditional policy issues, can not be rejected.

The partial regression coefficient for the percent of female legislators ($T = -1.132$ $p < 0.2583$) was not significant. The overall model failed to significantly explain the variance in support for bills in women's traditional policy areas.¹¹ Therefore, the null hypothesis can not be rejected. Hypothesis one is not supported by the research data. The percentage of female legislators is not a significantly sufficient explanation for the variance of support for bills sponsored in women's traditional policy areas.

Female legislators, regardless of their political party identification, are more likely than male legislators to sponsor bills in these areas. No statistically significant differences were found in the level of support for women's policy in bills sponsored or in personal legislative

¹⁰The Pearson correlation coefficient was not significant ($R = -0.035$ $p < 0.235$ for 1,111 cases).

¹¹The model included both the percentage of female legislators in the state and support for spending on traditional women's issues. Neither indicator was significant. The model statistic was $F = 1.221$ $p < 0.2960$.

priorities on women's issues between Democratic and Republican women.¹²

Several other variables appear to be much more significant than the percentage of female legislators or even gender in explaining support for women's traditional policy in sponsored legislation. The most significant of these for both genders is membership in and campaign linkages to formal women's and feminist groups (WOMGROUP) outside the legislature. Legislators with more linkages to these groups are more likely to sponsor bills that support women's traditional policies, regardless of their gender, party identification, or political ideology (which does not quite reach significance in the models) as shown in Table 5.2 on the next page.

Model one in Table 5.2 indicates that being a female legislator is significant at the $p < 0.01$ level and is more explanatory than either ideology or being a Democrat. No other variable in model one, including being a member of a women's caucus or the percentage of female legislators in the state (PERCENTF) is significant. The model's F statistic is 3.109 at the 0.0030 (or $p < 0.01$) significance level with

¹²No statistically significant difference between Democratic and Republican women was found in support of women's traditional policies in bills sponsored ($T = -0.4422$ $p < 0.6586$) or in personal support for women's policy issues ($T = -0.3458$ $p < 0.7296$). However, Republican women are significantly less supportive of more feminist policy than their Democratic counterparts ($T = -2.3667$ $p < 0.0184$).

Table 5.2 Support for Women's Policies in Legislation
Multivariate Regression Models
Support for Women's Traditional Policies
in Priority Legislation Sponsored
by State Legislators 1995

(WPOLICY)

Variable	MODEL #1 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #2 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #3 COEFFICIENT
Constant	4.094	3.828	5.422
DEMOCRAT	-0.789		
FEMALE	2.692 **		
FEMINIST INDEX	0.294	0.455	0.023
GENDER		-1.473	
IDEOLOGY	-1.061	-1.901 (p < 0.0576)	-0.923
PARTYID		1.495	1.605
PERCENT FEMALE	-1.465		
SPENDING ON WOMEN'S ISSUES	1.230	0.783	1.504
LINKAGES TO WOMEN'S GROUPS		2.981 **	2.388 *
WOMEN'S CAUCUS	0.168		
R ²	0.0221	0.0335	0.0185
Number of Legislators	972	982	982

Note:

- * p = < .05 Partyid: 1 = Democrat 2 = Republican
 ** p = < .01 Gender: 1 = female 2 = male
 *** p = < .001 Ideology: 1 = very liberal
 **** p = < .0001 7 = very conservative

an R² of 0.0221, explaining two percent of the variance in support of women's traditional policy in legislation.

Model two includes the variable linkage to women's groups (WOMGROUP) which was omitted from the first model. It is also more inclusive as gender replaces female and party identification replaces Democrat. The percentage of female legislators variable has been dropped from this model. It failed to achieve significance in any of these analyses. Model two is stronger, that is more explanatory than model one with an F statistic of 5.644 significant at the $p < 0.0001$ level.

Gender is no longer significant in this model. The most significant and explanatory variable is linkages to women's groups (WOMGROUP) at 2.981 ($p < 0.0029$). Political ideology is stronger than gender or party identification and almost obtains significance at -1.901 ($p < 0.0576$). This model stresses the importance of linkages with formal women's organizations outside the legislature in explaining support for sponsoring legislation on women's policies among both female and male legislators. Legislators who are less conservative in ideology and have more memberships in and campaign linkages to women's groups are significantly more likely to sponsor bills beneficial to women's traditional interests, regardless of their gender or political party identification.

Model three drops the gender variable completely. This model is weaker than either model one or two, but would be appropriate in cases where there is no gender difference

between legislators, that is comparing two females or two males to one another. The linkage to women's groups variable remains the only significant indicator, but is somewhat less explanatory at $T = 2.388$ at the $p < 0.0171$ level. Neither ideology nor political party identification achieve significance in this model. Overall, model three is significant with a $F = 3.685$ at the $p < 0.0026$ level. The consistently significant findings for the linkage to women's groups variable are consistent with theories of representing "women's culture".

Does the "Perception" of Support for Women's Policy Result
in Bills Supporting Women's Policy?

The second research hypothesis is that there is a positive relationship between the perception of a distinctive "women's policy agenda" (WPPOLICY) and actual legislative behavior of female legislators on behalf of women's policy concerns through the sponsorship of bills in these policy areas. In this case the data permit rejecting the null hypothesis. Hypothesis two is supported.

The perception of a women's policy agenda results from measuring legislators' personal legislative priorities in women's policy areas--regardless of whether they sponsored any bills in that area. There is a positive and very

significant correlation between the perception of a women's policy agenda and sponsoring bills in this area.¹³

A regression analysis shows there is a significant and positive explanatory relationship between the perception of a women's policy agenda and the actual sponsorship of bills in this area. The partial regression coefficient for perceived women's policy agenda is significant ($T = 9.078$ $p < 0.0001$). The coefficient for gender is significant, but negative reflecting that gender is coded one for female and two for male ($T = -2.493$ $p < 0.0128$). The overall model statistic $F = 49.612$ is significant at the $p < 0.0001$ level for 975 cases with an R^2 of 0.0925, explaining nine percent of the variance in support for women's traditional policies in bills sponsored. These findings allow rejecting the null hypothesis. There is a positive and significant relationship between the perception of a women's policy agenda and action sponsoring bills in that area by female legislators.

To better understand the dynamics of the relationship between a perceived and actual women's policy agenda (both are dependent variables in this research) the models in Table 5.3 examine three important independent explanatory variables. Being female, support for spending in women's traditional areas (SPENDWOM), and being involved in a

¹³The Pearson correlation coefficient is $R = 0.3$ at the $p < 0.0001$ level with 976 cases.

women's legislative caucus can contribute to legislators being more likely to have personal legislative priorities in women's policy areas. Three independent explanatory variables are statistically significant in model one of Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Perceived Support for Women's Policy Agenda
Multivariate Regression Models
Personal Policy Priorities that Support
Women's Policies

(WPPOLICY)

Variable	MODEL #1 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #2 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #3 COEFFICIENT
Constant	4.535	8.311	5.589
FEMALE	3.303 ***		
FEMINIST INDEX	1.831	1.651	1.217
GENDER		4.331 ****	
IDEOLOGY	0.404	0.309	0.552
PARTYID	- 0.358	-0.298	
SPENDING FOR WOMEN'S POLICIES	3.118 ** (p=0.0019)	3.117 **	3.287 ** (p=0.0011)
LINKS TO WOMEN'S GROUPS	0.087	0.308	0.785
WOMEN'S CAUCUS	2.306 *		3.654 *** (p= 0.0003)
R ²	0.0483	0.0424	0.0361
Number of Legislators	861	861	861

Note: * p = < .05 *** p = < .001
 ** p = < .01 **** p = < .0001
 Gender: 1 = female 2 = male
 Ideology: 1 = very liberal 7 = very conservative
 Party Identification: 1 = Democrat 2 = Republican

Being a female legislator is the strongest independent variable in explaining the variance of legislators' personal support for traditional women's issues in their personal legislative priorities.¹⁴ An index of support for increased spending on traditional women's issues (SPENDWOM) is significant but slightly less explanatory.¹⁵ Being a member of a women's legislative caucus is also significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.¹⁶ Support for "feminist" policies (FEMINDX) is not quite statistically significant in this model.¹⁷ The model statistic $F = 6.198$ $p = 0.0001$ has a R^2 of 0.0483 with 861 cases in the model.

Model two is very similar but replaces the female variable with gender. This strengthens the significance of the gender variable which dominates the model.¹⁸ The other significant explanatory variable continues to be support for increased spending in traditional women's policy areas. In the absence of the women's caucus variable the linkage to women's groups variable increases in strength but fails to

¹⁴The partial regression coefficient for being a female legislator is $T = 3.3$ at the $p=0.0010$ significance level.

¹⁵The partial regression coefficient for spending on traditional women's issues is $T = 3.1$ at the $p=0.0019$ level.

¹⁶The partial regression coefficient for being a member of a women's legislative caucus is $T = 2.3$ $p < 0.0214$.

¹⁷The partial regression coefficient for support of "feminist" policies is not significant in model one at the $p < 0.05$ level ($T = 1.8$ at the $p=0.0675$).

¹⁸The partial regression coefficient for gender in model two is $T = 4.3$ at the $p=0.0001$ level for 861 cases.

meet statistical significance at the $p < 0.05$ level.¹⁹ The statistic for model two is $F = 6.313$ at the $p = 0.0001$ level and has a R^2 of 0.0424 with 861 cases.

Model three in Table 5.3 omits the gender variable and therefore is weaker than either models one or two. It could be an appropriate model for predicting and explaining variance in support of perceived women's policy between two legislators of the same gender. It is included here to highlight the very significant increase in the strength of the women's caucus variable. In the absence of a gender variable, membership in a women's legislative caucus becomes the strongest indicator at $T = 3.654$ at the $p = 0.0003$ level. Being a female legislator and being a member of a women's caucus are two distinct variables. Just over half, 51.8 percent of female legislators are caucus members and 18 women's caucus members are male legislators. Support for spending on traditional women's policy issues remains positive and significant.²⁰ Model three is significant with $F = 6.421$ at the $p = 0.0001$ level with a R^2 of 0.0361 with 861 cases.

In conclusion, female legislators who support increased spending on traditional women's issues are more likely to have personal legislative priorities supporting women's

¹⁹The partial regression coefficient for linkages to women's groups remains non-significant at $T = 0.3$ $p = 0.7583$.

²⁰The partial regression coefficient for SPENDWOM in model three is $T = 3.3$ at the $p = 0.0011$ level.

policy concerns, regardless of their ideology or political party affiliation. Legislators who are members of women's legislative caucuses, regardless of their ideology or political party affiliation, are most likely to support these issues, whether or not they sponsor legislation in this area.

Is there a Significant Gender Difference in Forming Supportive Policy Coalitions?

Hypothesis three states female legislators are significantly more likely than their male counterparts to work in policy coalitions with other groups in order to get their priority bills passed. The data yield mixed findings on policy coalitions, depending on the level of analysis.

The aggregated data do not permit rejecting the null hypothesis; in this case hypothesis three is not supported. But separate analyses by subgroups of coalition partners results in significant gender differences that support hypothesis three.

A t-test indicates no significant gender difference in the overall frequency of legislators working in coalitions when potential coalition partner groups are combined.²¹ Regression analysis shown in Table 5.4 indicate no significant gender difference in overall frequency of

²¹The statistic for gender difference in coalition building is $T = -6.9780$ with an $F' = 1.08$ at the 0.3561 significance level.

legislator's building supportive policy coalitions to pass their priority bills. Table 5.4 shows members of women's caucuses are significantly more likely than other legislators to form supportive policy coalitions. This relationship is significant in both models one and two of Table 5.4 ($T = 2.984$ $p=0.0033$). Conservative caucus members are significantly less likely to form supportive policy coalitions than other legislators ($T = -2.760$ $p=0.0065$).

Separate testing of various potential policy coalition partner groups revealed significant gender differences in legislators' choices of coalition partner groups. Female legislators are significantly more likely than males to form supportive policy coalitions with African-Americans, Hispanics, other women, environmentalists, and "other" minorities.²² Male legislators are significantly more likely to form policy coalitions with business interests.²³ Legislators, regardless of gender, most frequently work in bipartisan coalitions to get their priority bills passed. There was no significant gender difference in policy coalitions with members of the opposite political party.

²²In order of strength the significant partial regression coefficients for female legislators and their coalition partner groups are: $T = 9.1$ at $p < 0.0001$ for coalitions with other women, $T = 3.5$ $p < 0.0005$ for environmentalists, $T = 1.2$ $p < 0.0089$ for African-Americans, $T = 0.54$ at $p < 0.0105$ for Hispanics, and $T = 1.5088$ for other minorities.

²³The partial regression coefficient for coalitions between male legislators and business groups is $T = -0.4038$ at the $p < 0.0009$ level.

and welfare reform. Female, but not male, legislators reported building policy coalitions with African-Americans on affirmative action, budget bills, domestic violence, health care, and pro-choice issues.

Bipartisan policy coalitions among both male and female legislators focused on budget, education, environmental, and social policy areas. Male legislators were more likely to work with the opposite party on crime issues and local district concerns. Female legislators were more likely to work in bipartisan coalitions on children's issues, domestic violence, human services, health care, jobs creation, pro-choice issues, welfare, and "women's issues".

The most significant gender difference in coalition groups was the much higher frequency of women forming bipartisan female coalitions. Women worked together on a wide spectrum of policy issues. They most frequently worked in coalitions on children's issues (46), health care (29), pro-choice issues (27), education (24), "women's issues" including gender equity (23), welfare reform (17) and domestic violence (17).

Female legislators in the 1990s do not provide descriptive, symbolic or passive "bench warming" policy representation. They are as actively involved as their male colleagues in the substantive legislative process of building supportive policy coalitions to pass their priority legislation. Female legislators are much more likely to

network together in bipartisan single gender coalitions and to build policy coalitions with ethnic minorities.

Are Female Legislators More Successful Sponsors of Women's Policy Bills?

The fourth research hypothesis states female legislators will be significantly more effective sponsors of women's traditional policy bills than their male colleagues. Effectiveness is measured by the actual number of women's policy bills a legislator sponsors that successfully are referred out of committee, pass the chamber and pass the legislature. Female legislators are significantly more likely than their male colleagues to pass more bills in women's policy areas ($T = 1.8$, $F = 3.98$ $p < 0.0001$).²⁴ Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected and hypothesis four is supported by the data based on gender differences in the number of women's traditional policy bills successfully passed by the legislatures.

Effectiveness could have also been measured as the percent success rate of bills sponsored in women's traditional policy areas which pass the legislature. This alternative method was tested on the data, but subsequently rejected as less precise. It has a severe limitation which potentially lead to faulty conclusions resulting from

²⁴ A total of 302 women's policy bills sponsored by legislators in this sample were passed during the 1995 sessions.

collapsing data and reducing variance necessary for testing gender differences of means.

Legislators with a one hundred percent "success" rate may have sponsored one, two or three bills--getting each bill passed. These legislators will all appear identical and equally successful. But legislators sponsoring three bills are able to get two more women's policy bills passed than their "equally successful" counterpart who sponsored only one bill that passed.

As example, among the 120 legislators (69 females and 51 males) sponsoring women's policy bills male legislators were not significantly less successful than females in getting their women's policy bills passed ($T = -1.7969$ $p < 0.0752$). However, the significantly higher number of women's policy bills proposed and passed by women at the same "success rate" resulted in more women's policy bills being passed by female legislators. This difference would not be obvious from using the success passage rate statistic. There was no significant gender difference among the 76 legislators (41 females and 35 males) in the number

of feminist bills²⁵ they sponsored which passed the legislature.²⁶

Gender Differences in Effective Sponsorship of Legislation
in "Gender-Neutral" Policy Areas

Hypothesis five states female legislators will be as effective as their male counterparts in successfully sponsoring their priority bills in "gender-neutral" policy areas, measured in the number of such bills that pass their legislature. T-tests for the difference of means indicate there is no statistically significant gender difference in the number of non-gendered priority bills that pass the legislature ($T = -0.3$ $p < 0.7551$).

Gender-neutral policy areas included all areas in which legislators sponsored their three priority bills excluding those "gendered" policies previously defined in this research to be part of either the women's traditional policy agenda or the feminist policy agenda. Women's health care and public education (kindergarten through high school) are on the women's policy agenda. But public health issues, health care reform, higher education, and education

²⁵Feminist policy issues in this research include civil, rights, domestic violence, environmental issues, ethics reform, family law, family planning and preventing teen pregnancy, increasing minimum wage, pay and gender equity issues, pro-choice, sexual harassment and victims' rights.

²⁶No significant gender difference in the number of feminist bills passed by the legislature was found ($T = 2.4$ with $F' = 1.46$ at the $p < 0.2632$).

funding/property tax issues are included among the seventy non-gendered policy areas. Gendered bills were excluded

TABLE 5.5 Success in Passing "Gender-Neutral" Bills
Through the Legislature
Multivariate Regression Models

(SUCCESS IN PASSING "GENDER-NEUTRAL" BILLS)

VARIABLE	MODEL #1 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #2 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #3 COEFFICIENT
CONSTANT	5.013	4.166	5.008
COMMITTEE CHAIR			-0.206
FEMALE		0.394	
IDEOLOGY	1.465		1.427
MALE	-0.367		-0.330
PARTY VOTING COHESION	0.248		0.263
REPUBLICAN	0.553		0.575
WINNING VOTE MARGIN LAST ELECTION	-2.347 * (p= 0.0196)	-2.324 * (p= 0.0209)	-2.334 *
F-Value of model	2.179	2.138	1.817
Significance of Model	0.0567	0.0612	0.0959
R ²	0.0381	0.0374	0.0383
Number of Legislators	280	280	280

Note: * p < 0.05 Gender: 1 = female 2 = male

from the calculation of number of bills passed the legislature, and their passage was excluded from the computed "success rate" of passing priority bills.

T-tests for the difference of means indicate there is no statistically significant gender difference between legislators in the number of their non-gendered priority bills that pass the legislature ($T = -0.3$ $p < 0.7551$). A total of 169 male legislators did pass more non-gendered priority bills (309) than their 135 female colleagues (243) but the gender difference of the mean number of bills passed by legislators was not significant.

Regression analysis in Table 5.5 show the gender variables, male and female, fail to significantly explain the variance in legislators' success in passing gender-neutral bills through the legislature in any of the three models presented. None of the three models presented are statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. Model three indicates that committee chairs are somewhat less likely than other legislators to personally sponsor and get passed "gender-neutral" bills. All three models indicate that legislators who won their most recent election by a narrow vote margin are significantly more likely to successfully sponsor and get passed more gender-neutral bills through the legislature.

The data do support hypothesis five. Although male legislators are slightly more successful in getting their non-gendered priority policy bills passed, the difference is not statistically significant ($T = 2.2185$, $F' = 1.10$ $p <$

0.5718).²⁷ Female legislators in this sample are statistically as likely as their male counterparts to get their priority "gender-neutral" policy bills passed in the legislature.

On average, female legislators in 1995 were as effective as their male colleagues in sponsoring and passing their legislative priority bills in a wide diversity of "non-gendered" public policy areas.

The Perceived Effectiveness of Women's Legislative Caucuses and Support for the "Feminist" Policy Agenda

Hypothesis six states that being a member of an effective women's legislative caucus is positively related to members' personal support for feminist public policy issues. The data only partially support this hypothesis; the null hypothesis can not be rejected. There is not a significant positive relationship between being a member of an effective women's legislative caucus and personal support for feminist policies. The data indicate the hypothesized relationship is positive and significant in explaining the variance in personal support for feminist policies only among Democratic women's caucus members.

The perceived effectiveness of a women's legislative caucus is measured by its influence in five areas. Both

²⁷Male legislators on average are slightly more successful (75.6%) than their female counterparts (68.7%) in getting their priority non-gendered bills passed in their legislature.

genders perceived women's caucuses as most influential in having moderate positive effects on bringing new items concerning women and children to the legislative agenda, representing women's policy interests and influencing policy outcomes that affect women and children. Women's caucuses had only a little influence on getting more women appointed to important committees and getting more kinds of citizens' groups involved in the policy making process.

T-tests on these items indicate significant gender differences in four of the five influence areas. Male legislators were significantly more likely to perceive the caucus as effective in getting more women appointed to important committees.²⁸ This may be related to the increasing number of state legislatures that have enacted gender parity or balance legislation for committee appointments. These bills often originated from women's legislative caucus proposals. Female legislators were significantly more likely to perceive women's caucuses as more influential in representing women's policy interests and concerns, bringing new items concerning children and women to the legislative agenda, and in influencing policy outcomes in these areas.²⁹ There was no significant gender

²⁸The statistic for this relationship is $T = 0.8253$ with an $F' = 1.29$ at the $p < 0.0302$ level.

²⁹Statistics for influencing policy outcomes ($T = 4.0184$) and better representing women ($T = 3.9064$) are both positive and significant at $p < 0.0001$ level. The $T = 2.3171$ for new agenda items is significant at $p < 0.0208$.

difference in the perception of a women's caucus' limited influence in getting more kinds of citizens' groups involved in the policy making process.

The presence of a women's legislative caucus is positively and significantly correlated with the overall perceived effectiveness of female legislators, as a group, in their legislature ($R = 0.07020$ $p < 0.0257$). As the perceived influence of a women's caucus increases in these five areas this relationship strengthens ($R = 0.30267$ at $p < 0.0001$). Regression analysis presented in Table 5.6 examine which organizational aspects of a women's caucus contribute to its perceived effectiveness.

Model one indicates the most significant factor contributing to a caucus' perceived effectiveness is having a formal organized structure, as opposed to being an informal network ($T = 3.576$ $p < 0.0004$). Women's caucuses vary in level of formal organization. Some are so informal that members meet only once just before the annual session in a primarily social gathering to greet each other and network. In 1995 the New Hampshire women's legislative caucus' major program for the year was sponsoring a "social" tea for the state's first lady. (In 1996 New Hampshire elected a female governor, Jeanne Shaheen.) Other caucuses are formal organizations with elected officers, an executive and legislative committee system and weekly to monthly meetings during the session.

Table 5.6 The Perceived Effectiveness of Women's Legislative Political Caucuses

Multivariate Regression Models
 Perception of the Effectiveness
 of Women's Legislative Political Caucuses
 (PERCEIVED EFFECTIVENESS OF WOMEN'S CAUCUS)

Variable	MODEL #1 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #2 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #3 COEFFICIENT
Constant	10.767	11.437	10.861
BIPARTISAN	0.923		0.127
WOMEN'S CAUCUS POLICY AGENDA		4.443 **** (p= 0.0001)	4.667 **** (p= 0.0001)
FORMAL Organization	3.576 *** (p= 0.0004)	0.761	0.829
CAUCUS LEADERSHIP		2.450 * (p= 0.0152)	
MEN MEMBERS			1.801
REGULAR MEETINGS		1.356	1.433
MEMBER OF WOMEN'S CAUCUS	3.368 *** (p= 0.0009)	2.058 * (p= 0.0409)	
R ²	0.0944	0.2175	0.1738
Number of Legislators	224	199	210

Note:

* p = < .05

** p = < .01

*** p = < .001

**** p = < .0001

Model one also indicates that caucus members are significantly more likely than non-members to perceive the caucus as effective ($T = 3.368$ $p < 0.0009$). Being a member of a women's legislative caucus and the caucus being a

formal organization explain nearly ten percent of the variance ($R^2 = 0.0944$) in the perceived effectiveness of women as a group in their legislature. The F statistic for model one is $F = 7.681$ $p < 0.0001$.

The strongest explanatory variable in both models two and three is the presence of a mutually agreed upon women's caucus legislative policy agenda. Having a policy agenda dominates model two ($T = 4.443$) and is significant at the $p < 0.0001$ level. It is more explanatory than being a caucus member or holding a caucus leadership position which are both significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.³⁰ Model two explains twenty-one percent of the variance in the perceived effectiveness of women's caucuses ($R^2 = 0.2175$) with an F statistic of 10.787 $p < 0.0001$.

Model three is less explanatory although the caucus policy variable is strengthened ($T = 4.667$ $p < 0.0001$). No other variable is significant in this model. It explains seventeen percent of the variance ($R^2 = 0.1738$) with a F statistic of 8.627 at the $p < 0.0001$ level.

In seventeen states women's caucuses propose a policy agenda or package of policy concerns that members agree to mutually support in getting passed. Most of these policy agendas focus not on "feminist" or abortion issues, but on

³⁰The other significant partial regression coefficients in model two are $T = 2.450$ for holding a caucus leadership position and $T = 2.058$ for being a women's caucus member.

areas more consistent with the women's traditional policy agenda as defined in this study.

The single policy area most frequently addressed by women's caucuses during 1995 was domestic violence. The salience of and high level of consensus on this issue in

TABLE 5.7 Most Frequent Policy Issues
Proposed by Women's Legislative
Caucuses During 1995

Women's Caucus policy agenda issues	Number of Women's Caucus Members Mentioning Issue
domestic violence	53
child support	23
child care	19
women's health insurance benefits	16
women's health care issues (including osteoporosis and breast cancer)	17
children's welfare and protection	16
other "women's" issues	10
judicial reform	7
pro-choice issues	7
preventing teen pregnancy	6
sexual harassment	5

many caucuses may have been heightened by the high profile year-long national media attention given to the issue, as a result of the televised murder trial in the death of Nicole Brown Simpson, a battered spouse. In Table 5.7 above

policies most frequently proposed by women's caucus members are listed.

Among the majority of legislators in this sample, the presence of a women's legislative caucus is positively and significantly correlated with legislators' personal support for feminist policies, with sponsoring women's policy bills-but not sponsoring feminist bills.³¹ Model one in Table 5.8 indicates the only significant relationship between membership in an effective women's legislative caucus and a legislator's personal support for feminist policies is for Democrats. However, this is the weakest, by half, of the three models. Model one explains only four percent of the variance among legislators in their support for feminist policies ($R^2 = .0412$ $p < 0.001$) with a model statistic of $F = 8.00$ at the $p < 0.0001$ level.

In model two the strongest explanatory variable is the legislator's ideology ($T = -3.031$) followed by the number of linkages between a legislator and women's groups ($T = 2.674$) both are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. The negative sign for ideology reflects increased support for feminist policies as the legislator's ideology becomes less conservative. No other variable in model two is significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, including the women's caucus

³¹The Pearson's correlation coefficients are $R = 0.09821$ $p < 0.0202$ for personal support of feminist policies and $R = 0.08969$ $p < 0.0239$ for sponsoring women's policy bills. The Pearson's coefficient for sponsoring feminist bills is $R = 0.06502$ and is not significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Table 5.8 Personal Perceived Support for Feminist Policies
Multivariate Regression Model(s)
Personal Policy Priorities that
Support Feminist Policies

(PERSONAL SUPPORT FOR FEMINIST POLICY)

Variable	MODEL #1 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #2 COEFFICIENT	MODEL #3 COEFFICIENT
Constant	1.051	5.871	6.289
DEMOCRAT	2.239 * (p = 0.0256)		
FEMALE	1.924 (p = 0.0548)	-0.441	
FEMINIST INDEX		1.482	1.573
GENDER			0.078
IDEOLOGY		-3.031 ** (p = 0.0025)	-3.090 ** (p = 0.0021)
PARTYID		-1.452	-1.474
SPENDING ON WOMEN'S ISSUES		1.160	1.146
LINKS TO WOMEN'S GROUPS		2.674 ** (p = 0.0076)	2.776 ** (p=0.0056)
WOMEN'S CAUCUS	2.184 * (p = 0.0293)	1.151 (p = 0.2501)	
R ²	0.0412	0.0922	0.0907
Number of Legislators	561	855	855

Note:

* p = < .05

** p = < .01

*** p = < .001

**** p = < .0001

Partyid: 1 = Democrat

2 = Republican

Gender: 1 = female 2 = male

Ideology: 1 = very liberal

7 = very conservative

variable. Model two explains more than twice the variance in legislators' support for feminist policies as does model one. Model two explains nine percent of the variance ($R^2 = 0.0922$ $p < 0.0001$), includes 855 cases and has an overall model statistic of $F = 12.299$ $p < 0.0001$.

Model three Table 5.8 is very similar to model two, both in explanatory power ($R^2 = 0.0907$ $p < 0.0001$) and variables. It is included to show the gender variable absent from model two is not significant in explaining the variance among legislators in their personal support for feminist issues. As in model two, ideology and linkages to women's groups are the significant explanatory variables. Each is slightly stronger than in model two and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.³² The model statistic is $F = 14.122$ ($p < 0.0001$). Table 5.8 shows that ideology and linkages to women's groups are consistently significant and more explanatory than political party affiliation, membership in an effective women's legislative caucus or gender in explaining the variance in legislators' personal support for feminist policies. Only among Democratic women's caucus members is there a significant and positive relationship between being a member of an effective women's caucus and personal support for feminist policies.

³²The significant partial regression coefficients in model three are $T = -3.090$ for ideology and $T = 2.776$ for linkages to women's groups. Both are significant at the $p < 0.01$ level.

During 1995 few "feminist" bills were reported sponsored and passed by legislators in this sample. A total

TABLE 5.9 Sponsoring Feminist Legislation
Multiple Regression Models
Support for Feminist Policies
In Bills Sponsored

(SPONSORING FEMINIST BILLS)

VARIABLE	MODEL #1 FEMALE LEGISLATORS	MODEL #2 MALE LEGISLATORS
CONSTANT	3.194	2.829
DEMOCRAT		
FEMALE		
FEMINIST INDEX	2.410 * (p= 0.0219)	0.335
IDEOLOGY	1.497	0.595
PARTYID		
SPENDING ON WOMEN'S ISSUES	1.452	0.788
WOMEN'S CAUCUS	2.175 * (p= 0.0371)	0.429
F-Value of model	3.395	0.300
Significance of Model	0.0201	0.8749
R ²	0.2979	0.0458
Number of Legislators	36 Female Legislators	29 Male Legislators

* p = < .05

** p = < .01

Partyid 1 = Democrat

2 = Republican

of 76 "feminist" bills were reported passed by 65 (36 female and 29 male) legislators in this sample during their 1995

sessions. Table 5.9 indicates that 36 female and 29 male legislators sponsored feminist legislation. For these legislators, being a member of a women's caucus and increased support for an attitudinal feminist policy index explain nearly thirty percent of the variance in female legislator's sponsoring of "feminist" bills ($R^2 = 0.2979$ $p < 0.0201$). No similar significant relationship was found among male legislators who sponsored "feminist" legislation.

Participation in Women's Legislative Caucuses

Legislators from 32 states indicate their state has a women's legislative caucus.³³ Of the 452 legislators from these states, sixty percent, 255 female and 18 male legislators, are members of their state's women's legislative caucus. Ninety female members (or 35.4 percent) are Republicans and 164 (or 64.6 percent) are Democrats. Forty-eight female legislators indicated they are currently officers in their state's women's legislative caucus. Another seven were president (chair or co-chair) of their women's caucus during 1994.

The mean level of support for women's traditional policies and for feminist issues among women's caucus members is significantly higher than support for these

³³Legislators from the following states indicated their legislature had a women's caucus or council. AK, AR, CA, CT, FL, GA, HI, IA, IL, IN, LA, MA, MD, MN, MO, NC, NE, NV, NH, NJ, NY, OH, OR, RI, SC, TN, TX, VA, VT, WV, WA and WY.

issues among non-caucus members in these states.³⁴ Women's caucus members also have significantly higher levels of linkages to formal women's groups outside the legislature. On average women's caucus members, regardless of their gender, have three times as many linkages to women's groups as do non-caucus members in their states.³⁵ Although Republican female members of women's caucuses have lower linkage scores to women's groups (3.8) than their Democratic female counterparts (9.2), they have significantly more linkages to women's groups, that is, higher linkage scores than non-caucus members of either party in their states.

Women's caucus members actively build legislative policy coalitions with other groups within the legislature to pass their priority legislation. They are significantly more likely than non-caucus members of either gender to form supportive policy coalitions with African-Americans, environmentalists, Hispanics, other "minorities", and most likely to form bipartisan female coalitions.³⁶ There was

³⁴T-test results for women's legislative caucus members compared to non-caucus members support for traditional women's policy issues is $T = 2.184$ at $p < 0.0295$. Support for feminist policy issues is $T = 2.30$ at the $p < 0.0217$ level.

³⁵The mean linkage score for all women's caucus members was 7.16 compared to non-members at 2.62 (on a scale from zero to a potential maximum score of thirty). This difference is significant ($T = 9.06$ $p < 0.0001$ level).

³⁶Each of these relationships is positive and statistically significant. With the exception of coalitions between women's caucus members and environmentalists each of these relationship is significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. In decreasing order, women are most likely to form female

no significant difference between caucus members and non-members in coalition building with the opposite political party ($T = 0.4557$ $p=0.6488$). Caucus members are significantly less likely than non-members of either gender to form coalitions with business interests.

Participation in African-American Caucuses

Forty percent (40.7 percent) or 440 legislators from a combined total of 27 states report their legislature has an African-American legislative caucus.³⁷ Only 45 legislators report they are members of their state's African-American legislative caucus. Members include 28 female and 17 male legislators. The ethnic racial composition of African-American caucus members in this sample includes 34 African-Americans, seven Caucasians, two Mexican-Americans, one Native American and a Puerto Rican. Both male and female members of African-American caucuses are significantly more "liberal" than non-caucus members.³⁸ African-American

coalitions within and across party lines ($T = 6.9867$ $p<0.0001$), with African-Americans ($T = 3.4417$ $p<0.0006$), with Hispanics ($T = 2.6324$ $p<0.0088$), with "other" minorities ($T = 0.7126$ $p<0.0122$), and with environmentalists ($T = 2.0318$ $p<0.0428$).

³⁷Legislators from the following states indicate their legislature had an African-American caucus in 1995: AL, AR, CA, CT, FL, GA, IL, IN, KS, LA, MA, MD, MI, MO, MS, NC, NV, NY, OH, OK, PA, RI, SC, TN, TX, VA and WI.

³⁸The self-reported mean ideology for members of African-American legislative caucuses in this sample is 2.6 (liberal) compared to a sample mean for non-caucus members of 4.2 (moderate) on a seven point scale (one is very liberal to

female legislators are slightly more liberal in ideology (2.64) than their male counterparts (3.28), but the difference is not statistically significant. Members of African-American caucuses in this sample are only half as likely to sponsor legislation in traditional women's policy areas (WPOLICY) as non-caucus members in their states.³⁹

There was no significant difference between female African-American caucus members and their non-member female Democratic colleagues in ideology, support for women's traditional policies or feminist policies, or in the number of bills sponsored in either policy area. African-American caucus members report working most often in coalitions with women (10), other African-Americans (9), Mexican Americans (6), Hispanics (2) and conservatives (2).

Coalition issues with women include children and women's issues, health care, crime, welfare reform, and elder care issues. Coalitions with other African-Americans focused on education, jobs, pro-choice issues, enforcing sexual harassment laws, and welfare reform issues. Issues between African-American caucus members and Hispanics were very similar to those with women, but also included budget concerns, minority business issues, and AIDS policy.

seven very conservative).

³⁹The mean support for women's traditional policies in bills sponsored among African-American caucus members was 0.26 compared to 0.50 for non-caucus members in their states. This difference of means is statistically significant ($T = 2.4066$ at the $p < 0.02$ level).

Participation in Conservative Caucuses

Fifty percent or 531 legislators from a total of forty states indicated their state has a conservative legislative caucus.⁴⁰ Twenty-one percent (125 legislators) are members of their state's conservative legislative caucus. Conservative caucus members are two and a half times more likely to be male than female. Members include 36 female (29 percent) and 89 male (71 percent) legislators. More than half (56.8 percent), or 274 legislators, report their state's conservative caucus is not bipartisan. Only sixteen of forty states have bipartisan conservative coalitions.⁴¹ Caucus members in the sample reflect this as 81.6 percent (102 members) are Republican while 18.4 percent (23 members) are Democrats. Ninety-five percent of conservative caucus members are Caucasian. Conservative caucus members in the sample include two African-Americans, two Mexican-Americans and three who identified their ethnicity as other.

The mean ideology for conservative caucus members is 5.68 on a seven point scale (7.0 is very conservative)

⁴⁰Legislators from the following states indicate their legislature had a formal or informal conservative legislative caucus in 1995: AK, AL, AZ, CA, CO, CT, DE, FL, GA, ID, IN, KS, KY, LA, MD, ME, MI, MN, MO, MS, MT, NC, ND, NE, NH, NY, OH, OK, OR, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, UT, VA, WA, WV and WI.

⁴¹The following states were reported to have bipartisan conservative caucuses as of 1995: AL, CT, DE, IN, KY, ME, MN, ND, NE, NH, NM, TX, VT, WI and WV.

compared to 3.6 among non-conservative caucus members in the forty states, and the 4.2 overall sample mean. The mean level of support for bills in women's traditional policies areas among members is not significantly different from the support among non-caucus members at the $p < 0.05$ level.⁴² Conservative caucus members have significantly fewer linkages to women's groups. On average they have one-third the linkages with formal women's groups as do their non-caucus counterparts in their states.⁴³

Conservative caucus members are significantly more likely than other legislators to have group linkages to the Christian Coalition but significantly less likely to have linkages to the National Rifle Association or Pro-Life groups.⁴⁴

⁴²The partial regression coefficient for bills in women's traditional policy areas among conservative caucus members is $T = 1.6766$ $p < 0.0942$.

⁴³The mean linkage score to women's organizations for conservative caucus members is 1.76 compared to 5.23 among non-caucus members in their states. This is statistically significant ($T = -9.22$ $p < 0.0001$). The range of linkage scores among caucus members is zero to sixteen, compared to a maximum of thirty among non-caucus members.

⁴⁴Conservative caucus members are significantly more likely than non-members to have linkages to the Christian Coalition ($T = 2.1357$ $p < 0.0369$). But they are significantly less likely to have linkages with the National Rifle Association ($T = -1.7392$ $p < 0.0856$) or with Pro-Life groups ($T = -0.1432$ $p < 0.8865$).

Participation in Hispanic Caucuses

Data on the presence and membership in Hispanic legislative caucuses are severely limited both by having only 17 Hispanics in the sample, and only inquiring about Hispanic caucuses on the male legislator's survey. Hispanics made up a total of 3.8 percent of the all state legislators in 1994.⁴⁵ In 1995 only 35 Latinas (Hispanic females) served as state legislators representing 12 states.⁴⁶ A total of 69 legislators (11.8 percent) from eleven states indicated their state has a Hispanic legislative caucus.⁴⁷ Nine "Hispanics" (eight males and one female) in the sample are members of a Latino legislative caucus.⁴⁸

The mean ideology of Hispanic caucus members was a moderate 3.5 on a scale of seven which was not significantly different from non-caucus members in these states. Hispanic caucus members were only slightly more likely to sponsor

⁴⁵See Table 8 page ix, *1994 National Roster of Hispanic Elected Officials* (1994).

⁴⁶Information from the "Women of Color" in Elective Office 1995 Fact Sheet, Center for the American Woman and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

⁴⁷Legislators from the following states indicate their legislature had an Hispanic (Latino/Latina or Puerto Rican) caucus in 1995: AZ, CA, CO, CT, FL, IL, MD, NJ, NM, NY and TX.

⁴⁸The female member voluntarily wrote in this information (as the Hispanic caucus question was not on the female survey form). She founded the caucus in her state.

bills in women's traditional policy areas than non-members.

The next chapter will briefly discuss conclusions, interpretations and implications for further substantive legislative gender and ethnic minority research in response to findings and hypotheses testing in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The primary goal of this research has been to explore the effectiveness of substantive representation in the increased numbers of female state legislators compared to their male colleagues. Gender differences in providing substantive policy representation were examined in areas of traditional "women's policy" issues and in gender-neutral policies that directly affect many aspects of citizens' every day lives.

Representing the "Women's Policy Agenda"

Factors that interact to influence effective policy representation of "women's" traditional interests are much more subtle and complex than just electing more female legislators. Whether legislators of either gender are members of or have strong campaign linkages to organized women's groups outside the legislature were consistently more explanatory in providing substantive representation for "women's" policy concerns. This relationship was consistent regardless of legislators' political party affiliations, political ideology or at times their gender.

As a group, female legislators more frequently mentioned women's policy issues as their personal legislative priorities whether or not they proposed such bills. They more frequently sponsored bills in these areas¹ and successfully passed more "women's policy" bills than their male colleagues.² This finding is consistent with earlier research (Saint-Germain, 1989; Thomas, 1991).

Consistent with previous research findings, male legislators in this sample continued to sponsor fewer of their priority bills in these policy areas. But by 1995 male legislators were as likely as female legislators to get their sponsored "women's policy" bills passed in the legislature.³ This significant new research finding is a recent development, not found in previous subnational multi-state samples from ten years ago. In a 1988 twelve-state study, which included 226 female representatives and a male comparison sample, male legislators were able to get 13

¹The "women's policy agenda" in this research includes the following specific policy areas: child abuse, children and youth bills, child support, cultural affairs, public education (kindergarten through high school), services for the elderly and aging, human services, juvenile crime and juvenile crime prevention and pro-life issues.

²A total of 120 (69 female and 51 male) legislators in this sample successfully sponsored 302 women's policy bills. Female legislators sponsored 113 bills to 92 for their male colleagues.

³There was no significant gender difference between the success rates of passing "women's policy" bills, males passed 87.5 percent of their priority bills dealing with these issues while females passed 85.8 percent of theirs.

percent of the priority bills they sponsored dealing with children and family issues passed. Female legislators successfully passed 29 percent of their comparable bills (Thomas, 1991).

There can be several practical implications of this finding on representing "women's policy" issues. Because male legislators less frequently sponsor "women's policy" legislation, female legislators who do actively and substantively represent these issues would continue to be preferred candidates and legislators when they are available. This would maximize representation of women's policies in the number of substantive "women's policy bills" sponsored and passed.

By being as successful in passing "women's policy" legislation, supportive males make excellent policy coalition partners on these issues. Furthermore, to maximize the representation of "women's policy" issues, male legislators who support these issues would be preferable candidates and legislators over more ideologically conservative female candidates who lack linkages to women's groups.

Female legislators do not universally support, act on behalf of or substantively represent "women's policy" issues. Ideologically moderate male legislators with linkages to women's groups would provided more effective substantive policy representation for "women's policy" than

more ideologically conservative females, of either party, who lack connections to women's organizations. This was especially true of the few male legislators who were members of their state's women's legislative caucus. If active policy representation is the legislative goal, then female voters, organized women's groups, female political action committees and feminists need to look beyond a legislator's gender and partisanship to determine who is most likely to maximize and advance "women's policy" interests.

Revisioning Minority Status Participation Theory

Much 1980s legislative gender research drew heavily on theories of minority status participation theory (Kanter, 1977) and its concepts of "skewed", "tilted" and "balanced" group dynamics (discussed earlier in chapter three). Research findings of primarily descriptive representation provided by "token" female legislators during the 1970s appeared to support it.

Much recent and current research hypothesizes female legislators provide substantive representation dependent on their percentage or numbers reaching an arbitrary critical threshold. Some scholars have hypothesized this ratio to be 15 percent (Thomas and Welch, 1990), 25 percent (Carroll and Taylor, 1989), a critical mass above 25 to 30 percent (Thomas, 1991) or when "balanced" gender ratios of 40 to 60 percent are achieved (Kanter, 1977). By 1995 only

Washington with the highest percentage of female legislators at 39.5 percent approached having "balanced" gender ratios. In just five other state legislatures (AZ, CO, ME, NH and VT) women exceeded thirty percent of the legislature.

But this emphasis on a "magic" number or percentage of female legislators misses the point. Focusing on the quantity or proportion of female legislators in a state confuses increased descriptive, passive "standing for" representation with the quality of increased "acting for" substantive representation of policy interests. It also overlooks the importance of and variance in other contextual factors which this research indicates may be much more significant in explaining substantive policy representation of "women's" political policies.

This research challenges the primary focus on the numbers of female legislators and increased descriptive female representation. Alone, numbers of female legislators are an insufficient criterion for increasing the active policy representation of women's interests. "Simply counting female noses in political decision-making institutions does not provide a barometer of support for women's policy issues" (Mezey, 1978b,384). This research finds increased numbers, percentages or other criteria of the descriptive representation of women do not necessarily equate with greater substantive policy representation for "women's" policy concerns. This finding is inconsistent

with the emphasis in much current research on female legislators. But it is consistent with findings in a 1990 two-state case study comparing Arizona and California legislators' support for women's policy interests (Reingold, 1992b).

Data in this current research have captured several important changes in the legislator population since 1994 which affect the representation of "women's" and "feminist" policy by both male and female legislators. During the "Republican electoral sweep" of 1994 more than one hundred mostly ideologically liberal Democratic female legislators were defeated by 88 more moderate to conservative Republican women. The majority of female legislators in 1995, regardless of their political party, are ideologically moderate and supportive of traditional policies concerning women and children but do not support of overtly "feminist" issues.

Although Republican women on average are more ideologically conservative than Democratic men, they sponsor more bills in "women's policy" areas. This research found no significant difference between these groups in personal support for women's policies or in lack of personal support for feminist policies.

Republican women were elected and incumbents reelected at high rates (97 percent in 1994). This has resulted in partisanship among female state legislators and within

women's legislative caucuses becoming more balanced. This moderating influence can be seen on the more traditional "gendered" policy agendas of women's legislative caucuses.

Ideological differences between more moderate Democratic male legislators and many of their much more ideologically conservative Republican male counterparts have increased. Male Republican legislators, on average, are significantly more ideologically conservative and also less likely to personally support "women's policy" issues than either their female Republican counterparts or Democratic males. Republican men, as a group, are least likely to sponsor "women's policy" bills.

This ideological shift among male legislators has resulted in increased opportunities for women in both parties to form supportive policy coalitions on women's policies with Democratic men. But it has eliminated the mostly conservative Republican male legislators as potential policy coalition partners on women's issues.

Expanding "Women's Culture" Theory to Include Supportive Male Legislators

Political theories of representing "Women's Culture" propose that female legislators who are involved with women's organizations are most active in representing women's interests and sponsoring legislation to benefit women and children (Carroll, 1992). This research strongly supports "women's culture" political theory. The importance

of membership in and campaign linkages with women's organizations were among the most consistent and strongest predictors of legislators' personal support for women's policy and their sponsoring of "women's policy" bills.

Linkages to women's groups had a stronger influence on legislators in sponsoring "women's policy" bills than did their gender, political party identification or personal political ideology. These findings support an expansion of "women's culture" representation theory beyond female legislators to include both genders. Subsequent research into which women's group linkages most influence specific policy content areas could be valuable for practical applications. Another more theoretical research option would be to study what influence linkages to women's groups might have on either the legislative process or public policy content in non-gendered policy areas for legislators of both genders.

Representation in "Gender-Neutral" Policy Areas

Studies on the policy impacts of female legislators have focused almost exclusively on gendered policy issues. It was hypothesized, and has been found, that the "distinctive" influence of female legislators and gender differences in legislative priorities, process or policy content would be most apparent in these areas. One notable exception is the sociolinguistic discourse analysis of

gender differences in crime bill content among 1989 Colorado legislators (Kathlene, 1995).

For female legislators to become integrated into mainstream political roles and policy making in state legislatures they need to provide effective substantive representation across a broad range of policy areas. This legislative representation needs to extend "beyond those (policies) extrapolated from domestic roles to political roles" (Saprio, 1983,146). In this research these policies are collectively referred to as gender-neutral policies. They include all policy areas in which legislators sponsored priority bills excluding those which were included in either the "women's" or "feminist" policy agenda.

Female legislators in this research were as effective as their male colleagues in passing their priority bills in gender-neutral policy areas. Although male legislators sponsored more "gender-neutral" bills than females, no significant gender difference exist in the number of such bills passed. Members of the majority political party, regardless of their gender, were most effective in getting their bills passed. Legislators of both genders who had narrowly won their most recent election by small vote margins were more likely to be successful in sponsoring and passing their gender-neutral bills.

One of two opposing hypotheses, beyond the scope of the current data, found in Fenno's (1973) theory of legislator's

goals and Jewell's (1982) model of state legislative representation might explain this finding. Legislators elected by narrow margins could be trying to maximize their reelection potential. In that case, they could be either "advertising" their name or attempting to create "good public policy" by sponsoring bills in order to build their recognition among constituents. In efforts to build and sustain party cohesion and safeguard "marginal" legislative seats their party won, party leaders in the chamber may help support and pass bills narrowly elected legislators sponsor.

In contrast, legislators winning elections by larger "safe" vote margins may have shifted their legislative activity away from higher risk more controversial tasks such as sponsoring legislation. They may focus on getting more resources for their district (that is "pork barrelling") or the non-controversial strategy of primarily doing casework and providing constituent services.

This research attempted to look at ethnic diversity among legislators and how it may cross-cut primarily gender findings on policy representation and coalition building. Further research with larger ethnic subsamples are required for significant findings.

Research on the gender composition of and lack of policy coalition building by members of conservative caucuses in this work are among the first such analyses of which I am aware. Due to the increasing numbers of state

legislatures with such caucuses, their apparent increasing influence on policy representation opposing "women's policies" that benefit women and children, this warrants some objective scholarly follow-up policy research.

Future Research Agenda

This research has just begun to tap into the rich and massive survey data set provided by the 1,111 legislators who participated in this study. Some of the data collected, but not analyzed to date include legislators' priority goals for their tenure in office and identifying and prioritizing constituent groups by their importance in influencing what types of bills legislators sponsor and support. Identifying information that would permit locating specific bills sponsored for subsequent content analysis was provided. The data also include information on legislative committee leadership styles. A wide variety of committee assignment, committee ranking by influence and impact on "improving equality" for women as well as perceived committee system discrimination data have also been collected.

Preliminary in-depth interviews with female legislators from twelve states were conducted which provided some qualitative data and insights not yet incorporated into this work. More than six hundred legislators in this sample agreed to scheduled future follow-up interviews. Interviews with some selected subset of those could provide a research

opportunity to expand and enrich the quantitative findings reported here.

For the future I am most interested in pursuing the representation findings in non-gendered policy areas. Non-survey methodologies such as in-depth legislator interviews and comparative content analysis of legislation might be more appropriate for this analysis. I am also intrigued by the possibility of working more closely with bipartisan women's legislative caucuses that include male legislators.

Ironically, I believe the highly publicized, extremely conservative Republican opposition to policies that benefit and protect women, children, minorities and the disadvantaged present a potential political opportunity for supporters of "women's policies". Many "women's policy" content areas focus on values of care, an ethic of nurturance and sustaining interdependent relationships. These traits are closely identified with women's morality and "maternal" thinking. But feminist political theorists such as Tronto argue, and I agree, that both genders benefit when this ethic of caring is made comparable with the ethic of justice and rights which currently dominates political power.

Findings in this research suggest potential effective majority coalitions supporting "women's issues" could be forged between legislators with linkages to women's organizations. Supportive coalitions between female

legislators in both parties with supportive Democratic male legislators could help stop the erosion of these policies designed to care for those among us whose political voice is frequently absent or silenced in the power politics of "rights" and budget retrenchment.

In conclusion, this research finds female legislators in 1995 provided more effective substantive policy representation than their male counterparts on "women's policy" issues, and equally effective substantive representation as male legislators in gender-neutral policy areas. Female legislators successfully sponsored bills in a wide range of substantive policy areas. They were as active as their male colleagues in building supportive and often bipartisan policy coalitions to pass their priority legislation; strategies which appear to have been effective.

Although the focus of this work has been on gender differences, an important finding has been the lack of gender difference between female legislators in both parties and their Democratic male colleagues in providing effective substantive representation of "women's culture" and for "women's policy" issues based on their linkages to formal women's organizations.

APPENDIX A
WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS, STATISTICS, 1895 - 1995

Year	Senate	House	Demo- crats	Repub- licans	Ind ^a	Total Women ^b	Total Legis- lators ^c	% Women
1895	0	3	0	3	0	3	155	1.9
1897	1	5	3	1	2	6	220	2.7
1899	1	7	4	2	2	8	290	2.8
1901	0	1	0	0	1	1	290	0.3
1903	0	2	1	1	0	2	304	0.7
1905	0	0	0	0	0	0	307	0.0
1907	0	0	0	0	0	0	308	0.0
1909	0	2	1	1	0	2	322	0.6
1911	0	5	4	1	0	5	328	1.5
1913	1	10	4	6	1	11	590	1.9
1915	3	6	6	1	2	9	916	1.0
1917	1	11	6	3	3	12	1108	1.1
1919	2	23	12	13	0	25	1314	1.9
1921	5	34	11	27	1	39	3743	1.0
1923	7	92	37	55	7	99	7045	1.4
1925	10	131	38	99	4	141	7396	1.9
1927	13	115	36	86	6	128	7413	1.7
1929	15	135	42	100	8	150	7557	2.0
1931	13	139	54	92	6	152	7557	2.0
1933	14	122	68	62	6	136	7608	1.8
1935	14	125	80	56	3	139	7592	1.8
1937	17	130	81	64	2	147	7515	2.0
1939	14	136	65	81	4	150	7485	2.0
1941	9	145	75	78	1	154	7496	2.1

continued

Year	Senate	House	Demo- crats	Repub- licans	Ind ^a	Total Women ^b	Total Legis- lators ^c	% Women
1943	12	188	82	115	3	200	7502	2.7
1945	15	221	94	142	0	236	7454	3.2
1947	19	197	58	158	0	216	7480	2.9
1949	18	202	94	126	0	220	7479	2.9
1951	23	219	84	156	2	242	7497	3.2
1953	21	278	90	206	3	299	7539	4.0
1955	23	289	118	190	4	312	7566	4.1
1957	29	288	109	206	2	317	7615	4.2
1959	34	307	167	172	2	341	7752	4.4
1961	36	289	138	183	4	325	7773	4.2
1963	33	311	139	201	4	344	7835	4.4
1965	37	340	183	189	5	377	7854	4.8
1967	49	271	160	154	6	320	7616	4.2
1969	49	266	145	165	5	315	7638	4.1
1971	46	300	169	174	3	346	7606	4.5
1973	64	380	222	219	3	444	7563	5.9
1975	91	518	385	221	3	609	7565	8.1
1977	108	595	433	265	5	703	7562	9.3
1979	108	668	446	326	4	776	7482	10.4
1981	137	775	508	397	7	912	7482	12.2
1983	174	818	589	397	6	992	7438	13.3
1985	196	905	600	492	9	1101	7461	14.8
1987	223	948	680	481	10	1171	7461	15.7
1989	261	1007	743	516	9	1268	7461	17.0

continued

Year	Senate	House	Demo- crats	Repub- licans	Ind*	Total Women*	Total Legis- lators*	% Women
1991	300	1059	817	533	9	1359	7461	18.2
1993	343	1184	930	585	12	1527	7424	20.6
1995	340	1195	845	674	16	1535	7424	20.7

Note: *Independent includes Independents, Non-Partisan, and minor parties. All North Dakota included until 1937; Minnesota until 1973, Nebraska after 1937.

*Total number based on women serving in spring of odd years and does not include those who may have resigned before April or those who were appointed or elected after April. Totals do not include non-voting delegates in Maine or territorial legislatures.

*Constitutional totals for state legislatures are added as women became eligible to run for state legislature. Forty-eight states included by 1929, Alaska and Hawaii added in 1959.

Source: Cox, Elizabeth M. 1996. Women State and Territorial Legislators, 1895-1995: A State-by-State Analysis, with Rosters of 6,000 Women. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. Appendix A, pages 328-329. Used by permission.

APPENDIX B
WOMEN IN STATE LEGISLATURES 1995

State	Rank	Senate	House	Total	Percent Female
Alaska	21	4	19	14	23.3
Alabama	50	1	4	5	3.6
Arkansas	42	1	16	17	12.6
Arizona	4	6	19	27	30.0
California	26	5	21	29	22.8
Colorado	9	19	21	31	30.0
Connecticut	11	6	42	50	26.7
Delaware	25	4	7	13	21.0
Florida	30	4	25	31	19.4
Georgia	38	4	35	13	18.2
Hawaii	25	5	19	33	19.7
Iowa	38	14	19	33	19.4
Idaho	40	7	21	29	27.6
Illinois	25	14	31	42	23.7
Indiana	25	14	19	33	22.0
Kansas	9	14	32	46	27.9
Kentucky	48	2	4	11	8.0
Louisiana	48	2	12	14	8.8
Maine	12	11	38	33	26.3
Maryland	8	7	47	54	28.7
Massachusetts	17	8	40	48	24.0
Michigan	22	3	30	33	22.3
Minnesota	13	18	32	50	24.9
Missouri	28	3	36	39	19.8
Mississippi	45	4	16	20	11.5

State	Rank	Senate	House	Total	Percent Female
Montana	17	9	27	36	24.0
North Carolina	36	6	22	28	16.5
North Dakota	37	9	13	22	15.0
Nebraska (Unicameral)	14	12	No House*		24.5
New Hampshire	6	6	121	127	30.0
New Jersey	41	1	15	16	13.3
New Mexico	27	8	15	23	20.5
Nevada	2	5	17	22	34.9
New York	34	9	29	38	18.0
Ohio	15	8	24	32	24.2
Oklahoma	47	7	9	16	10.7
Oregon	7	7	19	26	28.9
Pennsylvania	44	4	26	30	11.9
Rhode Island	17	10	26	36	24.0
South Carolina	43	3	18	21	12.4
South Dakota	33	5	14	19	18.1
Tennessee	40	3	15	18	13.6
Texas	32	4	29	33	18.2
Utah	39	1	14	15	14.4
Virginia	46	4	12	16	11.4
Vermont	4	11	43	54	30.0
Washington	1	20	38	58	39.5
Wisconsin	15	8	24	32	24.2
West Virginia	38	5	15	20	14.9
Wyoming	24	1	18	19	21.1

*Nebraska has a Unicameral (i.e., one chamber state legislature) with a 49 member Senate and no state House.
Source: "Women in Elective Office 1995" Fact Sheet April 1995. Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. Copyright 1995. Used by permission.

APPENDIX C
SURVEY INSTRUMENTS AND COVER LETTERS

UNIVERSITY OF
FLORIDA

Department of Political Science

3324 Turlington
PO Box 117325
Gainesville FL 32611-7325
(904) 392-0262
Fax: (904) 392-8127

July 8, 1995

Today a fifth of all state legislators nation-wide are women, more than five times as many as in 1970. In 1995 female legislators of each political party have increased opportunities to propose, influence, and help determine important policy decisions that directly affect and benefit their state's citizens. However, no one really knows how female legislator's policy priorities may affect public policy making or how effectively female legislators influence today's policy outcomes in state legislatures.

We feel this study will provide detailed information on the effectiveness of committee practices, building effective policy coalitions among various groups of legislators, and the effect of women's political caucuses within state legislatures. You are among female legislators in your state being asked to give your opinions and share your legislative experiences on these matters. You were selected to participate in this study from a national list of current state legislators.

Thus, we ask you to please complete the questionnaire yourself and not delegate it to someone else. As the legislator it is your opinions, actions, and decisions that directly affect most aspects of every day life and the quality of living for citizens of your state. The survey form will take up to twenty minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Univercity of Wisconsin requests we inform you that we are unable to offer you compensation. In order for the study to be as useful as possible and truly represent the attitudes and experiences of female legislators of each political party it is important that each survey be completed and returned.

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The survey has an identification number for mailing purposes only. This is so we may check your name off our mailing list when your survey is returned. Your name will never be placed on the survey form and none of your responses will be specifically linked to you personally.

The results of this research will be made available to state legislators and legislative organizations. You may receive a summary of the results by writing "copy of results requested" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address below it. Please do not put this information on the survey form so your individual replies can remain confidential.

We also encourage you to participate in the leadership training program of the Women's Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures. Please check question 53 on page seven (back cover) of the survey and enclose your business card if you would like more information on the Women's Network leadership programs.

We would be most happy to answer any questions you might have. Please write or call Elizabeth Williams at (904) 392-0056 (direct line) or at the political science department office (904) 392-0262. Thank you for your assistance and prompt reply.

Sincerely,

Myra S Bari

Senator Myrna L. Bair
Vice President, Women's Network
National Conference of State Legislatures

Elizabeth G. Williams

Elizabeth G. Williams
Project Director
University of Florida



THE FLORIDA SENATE

Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1100

June 16, 1995

SENATOR GEORGE KIRKPATRICK
5th District

Dear Fellow Legislator:

COMMITTEES:
Higher Education
Chairman
Waste and Marine
Sub. B (Education)
Rules and Calendar
Education
Community Affairs

JOINT COMMITTEE:
Advisory Council on Environmental Education
Legislative Auditing

In 1995 state legislators of each political party have increased opportunities to propose, influence, and help determine important policy decisions that directly affect and benefit citizens in their state. Our policy choices often create new innovative programs in crime prevention, education, health care, and welfare reform which are used as model programs for other states and adopted by congress.

As our role of state legislators has become more important, our membership has become more representative of the American public as more women and racial or ethnic minorities have been elected. However, no one really knows how the increased policy activism and member diversity among legislators has affected policy priorities, public policy making, or how effectively female and minority legislators influence today's policy outcomes in state legislatures.

You are among the legislators in your state being asked to give your opinions and share your legislative experiences on these matters without compensation. You were selected to participate in this study from a national list of current state legislators. In order for the study results to be as accurate as possible and truly represent the attitudes and experiences of legislators of each political party it is important that each survey be completed and returned. It is also important we have about the same number of responses from male and female legislators in each state.

Thus, we ask you please complete this questionnaire yourself and not delegate it to some one else. As the legislator it is your opinions, actions, and decisions that affect most aspects of every day life and the quality of living for citizens in your state. The survey form will take up to twenty minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. We feel this study will provide detailed information on the effectiveness of committee practices, building effective policy coalitions among various groups of legislators, and the impact of political caucuses within your legislature.

Printed on Recycled Paper

REPLY TO

3 1123 N. W. 13th Street, Gainesville, Florida 32601 (904) 377-3800
3 252 Senate Office Building, Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1100 (904) 487-5020

JAMES A. SCOTT
President

MALCOLM E. BEARD
President Pro Tempore

JOE BROWN
Secretary

WAYNE W. TODD, JR.
Sergeant at Arms

Survey Ltr.
Page Two

You may be assured of complete confidentiality. The survey has an identification number for mailing purposes only. This is so we may check your name off our mailing list when your survey is returned. Your name will never be placed on the survey form and none of your responses will be specifically linked to you personally.

The results of this research will be made available to state legislators and legislative organizations nation-wide. You may receive a summary of the results by writing "copy of results requested" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address below it. Please do not put this information on the survey form so your individual replies can remain confidential.

We would be most happy to answer any questions you might have. Please write or call Ms. Williams at (904) 392-0056 (direct line) or at (904) 392-0262 the political science department. Thank you for your assistance and prompt reply.

Personal Regards



George G. Kirkpatrick



Department of Political Science

3324 Turlington
PO Box 117315
Gainesville FL 32611-7315
(904) 392-0262
Fax: (904) 392-8127

July 27, 1995

This reminder is to follow-up on a letter and questionnaire we sent you about a month ago. We have not yet received your completed survey. Therefore, we have enclosed another copy of the survey and a postage paid envelope in case the first copy has been misplaced. If you have already returned the first copy, please accept our sincere thank you for your time and effort and feel free to discard this copy. If not, we would greatly appreciate you completing the enclosed form.

Your responses are very important to this project. We feel this study will provide detailed information on the effectiveness of women's political caucuses, committee practices, and building effective policy coalitions. We have received back a large number of completed surveys from legislators across the country including some from your state. But in order for this study's results to be as accurate as possible and truly represent the attitudes and experiences of legislators in your state it is very important each survey be completed and returned.

Please complete the questionnaire yourself and not delegate it to someone else. As the legislator it is YOUR opinions, actions, and decisions that affect most aspects of every day life and the quality of living for citizens in your state. The survey form will take up to twenty minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. University regulations require we inform you that we are unable to offer you compensation.

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We also encourage you to participate in the leadership training program of the Women's Network of the National Conference of State Legislatures. Please check question 33 on page seven (back cover) of the survey and enclose your business card if you would like more information on the Women's Network leadership programs.

We would be most happy to answer any questions you might have. Please write or call Elizabeth Williams at (904) 392-0556 (direct line) or at the political science department office (904) 392-0262. Thank you for your assistance and prompt reply.

Sincerely,

Senator Myrna L. Bair
Vice President, Women's Network
National Conference of State Legislatures

Elizabeth G. Williams
Project Director
University of Florida

Approved for use through June 5, 1996
Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

THE FLORIDA SENATE

Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1100



SENATOR GEORGE KIRKPATRICK

5th District

September 21, 1995

COMMITTEES:
 Higher Education
 Chairman
 Navy and Means
 Sub: B (Education)
 Rules and Calendar
 Education
 Community Affairs

JOINT COMMITTEE:
 Advisory Council on Environmental Education
 Legislative Auditing

Dear Fellow Legislator,

This reminder is to follow-up on a letter and questionnaire we sent you about a month ago. We have not received your copy of the completed survey. Therefore, we have enclosed another copy of the survey and a postage paid envelope in case the first copy has been misplaced. If you have already returned the first copy, please accept our sincere thank you for your time and effort and feel free to discard this copy. If not, we would greatly appreciate you completing the enclosed form.

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As the legislator your opinions, actions, and decisions affect most aspects of everyday life and the quality of living for citizens in your state. Our policy choices often create new innovative programs in criminal justice, education, health care, and welfare reform which are used as model programs in other states and even adopted by Congress. Thus, we ask you to please complete the questionnaire yourself. It will take up to twenty minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. University policy requires us to inform you that we are unable to offer you compensation.

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Printed on Recycled Paper

REPLY TO

3 1123 N. W. 13th Street, Gainesville, Florida 32601 (904) 377-3800

3 252 Senate Office Building, Tallahassee, Florida 32399-1100 (904) 487-5020

JAMES A. SCOTT
 President

MALCOLM E. BEARD
 President Pro Tempore

JOE BROWN
 Secretary

WAYNE W. TODD, JR.
 Sergeant at Arms

The results of this research will be made available to state legislators and legislative organizations nationwide. You may receive a summary of the results by writing "copy of results requested" on the back of the return envelope, and printing your name and address below it. Please do not put this information on the survey form so your individual replies can remain confidential.

Ms. Elizabeth Williams, the survey director, would be most happy to answer any questions you might have. Please write or call her at her direct number (904)392-0056 or leave a message for her with the University of Florida political science department at (904)392-0262. Thank you for your assistance and prompt reply.

Personal Regards,



George G. Kippeltrick

THE INCREASED IMPACT OF FEMALE LEGISLATORS
ON PUBLIC POLICY MAKING
IN STATE LEGISLATURES

1995 National Survey of State Legislators

THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
P. O. BOX 117325
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA 32611



IDENTIFICATION # _____

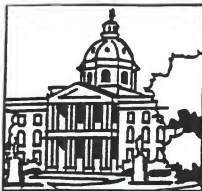
The purpose of this national survey is to gather information on how legislator's policy priorities, committee assignments, and legislative caucuses influence policy making in state legislatures. Your responses are very important to this research and will be kept confidential. The identification code (above) is only for data collection purposes. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Thank you in advance for completing this survey. It will take up to twenty minutes. Please return the completed form in the enclosed postage paid envelope, and address any questions to either survey director at 904-392-0262.

SURVEY DIRECTORS:
Elizabeth G. Williams, MA
Dr. James W. Sutton, Professor

PUBLIC POLICY MAKING
IN U.S. STATE LEGISLATURES

1995 National Survey of State Legislators

THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
P. O. BOX 117325
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA 32611



IDENTIFICATION # _____

The purpose of this national survey is to gather information on how legislator's policy priorities, committee assignments, and legislative caucuses influence policy making in state legislatures. Your responses are very important to this research and will be kept confidential. The identification code (above) is only for data collection purposes. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Thank you in advance for completing this survey. It will take up to twenty minutes.

Please return the completed form in the enclosed postage paid envelope, and address any questions to either survey director at 904-392-0262

SURVEY DIRECTORS:
Elizabeth G. Williams, MA
Dr. James W. Button, Professor

1995 SURVEY OF STATE LEGISLATORS

SECTION ONE LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES

1. In the spaces below, please indicate the three most important issues (or problems) that faced your state legislative chamber in the 1995 session.

(1A) Most important issue is _____

(1B) Second most important issue _____

(1C) Third most important issue _____

2. As an individual legislator, what three issues were most important to you personally for this legislative session?

(2A) Most important issue is _____

(2B) Second most important issue _____

(2C) Third most important issue _____

3. Please list below, in order of importance to you, the three most important bills you sponsored in this legislative session. (Bill 1 should be the most important).

Bill Title	Bill Number	Policy Area
Bill 1 _____	_____	_____
Bill 2 _____	_____	_____
Bill 3 _____	_____	_____

4. For the bills you just listed, please indicate each bill's outcome (as far) in this session. Check as many of the following for each bill as apply.

	Passed Committee	Passed Chamber	Passed Legislature	Signed by Governor	Enacted into law	Vetoed by Governor	Passed over veto
Bill 1 _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Bill 2 _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Bill 3 _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

5. On important legislation how often do members of your political party vote alike (in the same way)?

Almost Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Almost Always
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

6. Below are goals some legislators think are important. Please put a '1' by each goal you consider very important, put a '2' by each goal you consider moderately important, and put a '3' by any goal you consider less important.

☐ Making sure your constituents get more government benefits, funding, and projects located in your district
☐ Making government and bureaucracy more effective
☐ Helping constituents with their problems and concerns
☐ Helping increase opportunities for women
☐ Gaining political influence within the legislature
☐ Building your political influence within your political party
☐ Making good public policy
☐ Fund raising for reelection
☐ Preparing to run for election to higher office

7. When you sponsor and vote on legislation, how important to you are the influence and interests of the following groups? Please put a '1' by the groups you consider most important, a '2' by groups you consider moderately important, and a '3' groups you consider less important.

<input type="checkbox"/> Blacks (African-Americans)	<input type="checkbox"/> environmentalists
<input type="checkbox"/> business groups	<input type="checkbox"/> labor unions
<input type="checkbox"/> children's welfare groups	<input type="checkbox"/> Latinos/Hispanics
<input type="checkbox"/> Christian coalition	<input type="checkbox"/> political party leaders
<input type="checkbox"/> the disadvantaged	<input type="checkbox"/> women's groups
<input type="checkbox"/> education groups	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify _____	

8. Do you work in policy coalitions with groups of Blacks (African-Americans), Hispanics, or women in order to get your priority bills passed?

☐ Yes, often ☐ Sometimes ☐ Almost never

IF YES, which groups and on what kinds of issues? _____

SECTION TWO POLICY ATTITUDES - PART A

Please check the blank which best reflects your personal attitude about the level of state funding for the following policies affecting children, women, and families.

	Should Be Increased	Should Remain The Same	Should Be Decreased
9. Funding for pre-kindergarten learning programs for children	_____	_____	_____
10. Funding for women's prenatal health care, & immunization and nutrition programs for poor infants and young children	_____	_____	_____
11. Funding to subsidize child care for poor working mothers in welfare to work programs	_____	_____	_____
12. Funding for abused spouse shelters and victims of domestic violence	_____	_____	_____

SECTION TWO POLICY ATTITUDES - PART 2

Please check the blank below which best reflects your personal attitude on the following policies affecting women.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	I am Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. States should not enforce stronger legal sanctions against parents who owe back (unpaid) child support.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. A greater proportion of public medical research money should go to the early diagnosis and treatment of osteoporosis, cervical & breast cancer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. More women should be appointed to public office.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16. States no longer need laws prohibiting sexual harassment and job discrimination against women.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17. To reduce and prevent unwanted pregnancies state health departments should give out condoms and birth control pills to teens on request.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

SECTION THREE LEGISLATIVE CAUCUSES - Women's Caucus

18. Is there a formal or informal women's caucus in your legislative chamber?
 _____ Yes. _____ No. _____ I don't know.
- (IF YOU ANSWERED NO OR I DON'T KNOW IN QUESTION 18, please skip to question 24.)
19. Are men also members of the women's caucus? _____ Yes. _____ No.
20. Are you a member? _____ Yes. _____ No.
 (IF YOU ANSWERED NO TO QUESTION 20, please skip to question 23.)
21. (A) Is the women's caucus a formal organization? _____ Yes _____ No
 (B) Do you hold a leadership position in the caucus? _____ Yes _____ No
 (C) If yes, what position do you hold? _____
 (D) Is the women's caucus bipartisan? _____
 (E) If no, what (which) party sponsors the women's caucus in your legislature?
 _____ Democrats _____ Republicans _____ Other, specify _____
- (F) Does the caucus meet regularly? _____ Yes _____ No
 (G) If YES, how often? _____
22. (A) Does the women's caucus usually agree on a collective policy agenda or specific priorities for the legislative session? _____ Yes _____ No
 (B) If you answered yes in 22A, what are the women's caucus major agenda priorities for the current legislative session?

23. If your chamber has a women's caucus, how effective do you think it is in influencing the following?

	Not At All	A Little	Some	Very Much	Don't Know
A. getting more women appointed to important committees	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B. bringing new items concerning women & children to the agenda	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
C. getting more kinds of citizens' groups involved in policymaking	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
D. better representing women's policy interests and concerns	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
E. influencing policy outcomes affecting women and children	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

OTHER LEGISLATIVE CAUCUSES

24. Is there a formal or informal Black (African-American) caucus in your legislature? Yes. _____ No. _____ I don't know. _____
25. If yes, are you a member? Yes. _____ No. _____
26. Is there a formal or informal Hispanic (Latino) caucus in your legislature? Yes. _____ No. _____ I don't know. _____
27. If yes, are you a member? Yes. _____ No. _____
28. How do you rate the effectiveness of the following groups of legislators in your legislative chamber?
- | | None in
Chamber | Not
Effective | Effective
only on
minor issues | Moderately
Effective in
Coalitions | Strongly
Effective
on major issues |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| Blacks | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Hispanics | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Women | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Other,
if other
which groups? | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

SECTION FOUR LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

29. Please list below the three committees which you feel are most important in your state legislative chamber?
- Most important committee _____
- Second most important _____
- Third most important _____
30. Which committees do you think are most important to improving equality for women in your state?
- Most important _____
- Second most important _____

11. Please rank the legislative committee on which you serve, in importance to you. Also indicate "Y" if you chair any of these committees ("N" if not).

Most important committee _____ Chair? _____
 Second most important _____ Chair? _____
 Third most important _____ Chair? _____

If you chair a committee (or have done so in previous sessions) please check the response you think best describes how you usually conduct committee meetings.

- | | Almost
Always | Often | Sometimes | Seldom | Almost
Never |
|---|------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| 12. I try to suppress conflict between members using the rules to maintain control. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 13. I discourage small group decision-making & encourage all members to participate. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 14. I consult with members of the other party on issues. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 15. I emphasize debate and discussion at the expense of taking quick actions. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 16. To what extent do you think the committee assignment system in your chamber discriminates against | | | | | |
| Women? | _____ A Lot. | _____ Some. | _____ A Little. | _____ Not at all. | |
| Blacks? | _____ A Lot. | _____ Some. | _____ A Little. | _____ Not at all. | |
| Latines? | _____ A Lot. | _____ Some. | _____ A Little. | _____ Not at all. | |

SECTION FIVE PERSONAL INFORMATION

17. Please indicate your RACE:

_____ African-American _____ Caucasian _____ Mexican-American
 _____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Cuban-American _____ Native American
 _____ Other, please specify _____ Puerto Rican

18. SEX: _____ Female _____ Male

19. What is your birth date? ____/____/19____

20. What is your political party? _____ Democrat _____ Independent _____ Republican

21. What is your marital status?
 _____ Divorced/Separated _____ Married _____ Single _____ Widowed

22. Do you have children? _____ 23. IF YES, how many? _____

24. What age is your youngest child? _____

25. What is your highest level of formal education?

_____ Less than High School graduation _____ Masters Degree
 _____ High School graduation _____ Professional Degree (JD, MD,
 _____ Junior/Community College _____ Ph.D.
 _____ College Bachelors Degree (or RN)
 _____ Other, please specify _____

46. What is your occupation/profession?

<input type="checkbox"/> attorney	<input type="checkbox"/> insurance	<input type="checkbox"/> physician
<input type="checkbox"/> business owner	<input type="checkbox"/> legislator	<input type="checkbox"/> professional
<input type="checkbox"/> clerical/office worker	<input type="checkbox"/> manager	<input type="checkbox"/> real estate
<input type="checkbox"/> educator	<input type="checkbox"/> none	<input type="checkbox"/> skilled trade
<input type="checkbox"/> farmer/rancher	<input type="checkbox"/> nurse	<input type="checkbox"/> technical
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify _____		

SECTION SIX GROUP MEMBERSHIPS AND POLITICAL SUPPORT

47. Please indicate below those organizations of which you are a member. Check any other category that may apply to the organizations. Particularly indicate which organizations gave you help (money, campaign workers, or endorsements) or opposed you during your most recent election campaign.

Campaign Activity in Your Most Recent Election

GROUP NAME	I am a member	It opposed my election	It Endorsed me	Contributed money	Provided workers
1. Chamber of Commerce	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Christian Coalition	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Real estate groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Education Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. EMILY's List	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Environmental Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. Labor Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Latino Organizations	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. League of Women Voters	_____	<u>N/A</u>	<u>N/A</u>	<u>N/A</u>	<u>N/A</u>
10. N.A.A.C.P.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. N.O.W.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. N.R.A.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. American Association of University Women	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. Business & Professional Women	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. National Women's Political Caucus	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16. Pro-Choice Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17. Pro-Life Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18. W.I.S.M. List (Women in the Senate & House)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19. Other please specify group name _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

48. Are you currently employed in addition to your duties as a state legislator?
 _____ No. _____ Yes, part-time only.
 _____ Yes, full-time.
 _____ Full time, but only between legislative sessions.
49. What is your proudest accomplishment as a state legislator? _____

50. How satisfied are you with your legislative career?
 Very Satisfied _____ Mostly Satisfied _____ Sometimes Dissatisfied _____
 I am frequently dissatisfied _____
51. Below is a seven point scale representing political ideology that ranges from very liberal (1) to very conservative (7). Circle the number that you think best represents YOUR overall general political beliefs.
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 VERY LIBERAL ...MODERATE... VERY CONSERVATIVE

THANK YOU,

Thank you for your assistance and precious time in completing this survey. Your help is very valuable to this research. Would you be willing to be contacted by phone for a brief (twenty minute) follow-up interview?

52. Yes _____ No _____
- Would you like to receive a summary of the results of this research?
 IF YES, please indicate your name and address on the back of the enclosed survey return envelope. (so your responses will remain confidential).
- Yes _____ No _____
53. Will you be participating in the National Conference of State Legislatures Women's Network Leadership Programs?
 Yes _____ No _____
- _____ I would like more information on these programs. Please enclose your business card and this information will be sent to you.

Will you be attending the Fourth CANS Forum for Women State Legislators in San Diego, CA November 16-19, 1995? _____ Yes _____ No

APPENDIX D
CREATED VARIABLE INDICES AND SCALES

Introduction

This appendix details the construction, measurement, and indicators used in creating ten important variable indices used in this research. These include four independent variables (1) linkages to women's groups (WOMGROUP), (2) the level of organization of a women's legislative caucus (WCAUCUS), (3) support for spending on women's issues (SPENDWOM), and (4) support for feminist issues (FEMINDX).

Dependent variables discussed will include: (1) the perceived effectiveness and influence of a women's caucus (EFFECTV), (2) support for women's policies (WPOLICY) and support for feminist policies (FPOLICY) in bills sponsored, (3) the perceived importance of women's policies (WPPOLICY) and feminist policies (FPPOLICY), and (4) bill sponsorship success (BILLSUCC).

Created Independent Variables

Linkages to Women's (and Feminist) Groups (WOMGROUP)

Linkages between legislators and national formal women's groups outside the legislature are measured from responses to question block 42 on page seven of the survey instrument. This variable (WOMGROUP) is a cumulative scale ranging from a minimum value of zero to a potential maximum value of 42. It measures whether the legislator is a member of up to seven national women's groups, and the strength of campaign support the legislator received from the group in the last election cycle.

These women's groups include either Emily's List (a political action group that endorses only Pro-choice female Democratic candidates) or its Republican counterpart, the W.I.S.H. List (endorses only Pro-choice female Republican candidates). Other organizations included are the League of Women Voters, the National Organization for Women, the American Association of University Women, the Business and

Professional Women's Association, the National Women's Political Caucus, and Pro-Choice Groups.

For each organization in which a legislator is a member, the scale is increased by one. The scale is increased by two for each organization that contributed financially during the legislator's last election campaign. For each listed organization that endorsed the legislator during the last election cycle, the scale is increased by three. A total scale value of zero indicates the legislator is not a member of, did not receive any financial contributions from, and was not endorsed by any of the seven organizations. The higher the value of the scale, the more numerous and stronger the linkages between a legislator and formal women's groups (WOMGROUP).

Women's Legislative Political Caucus (WCAUCUS)

The women's political caucus variable (WCAUCUS) is a cumulative scale that measures the level of formal organization of a state's women's legislative caucus. It also measures whether an individual legislator is a member or caucus officer. This variable applies only to female legislators. WCAUCUS draws on responses to questions 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 located on pages three and four of the female legislator survey. Responses from male legislators to question 19, 20, and 21 are coded as separate variables not included in this scale.

This was due to an erroneous design flaw on my part, based on 1994 research which indicated only two states (Missouri and Oklahoma) had women's legislative political caucuses that included male members.¹ By 1995 this was no longer the case. In this data set 18 males from eight states (CT, IL, MI, ME, NH, NM, OR, and VT) report they are members of their state legislature's women's political caucus.

The value of the WCAUCUS scale is increased by one for each of the following that are true: if the caucus is formally organized, it has male members, and if the legislator is a women's caucus member. The value is also increased by one for any of the following: if the legislator holds any caucus office, if the legislator is either the caucus chair/co-chair or the immediate past chair/co-chair. Caucuses that are bipartisan, meet regularly (at least monthly), and support an agreed upon policy agenda of issues are also increased by one for each

¹Center for the American Woman and Politics. 1994. "Women's Caucuses in State Legislatures." CAWP News and Notes, Summer 1994, 9(3), 24-30.

condition. This cumulative scale ranges from a minimum value of zero to a potential maximum of twelve.

Spending on "traditional women's" issues (SPENDWOM)

Support for "traditional women's" issues is defined to be support for policy concerns that have been part of traditional domestic and family-centered responsibilities predominately performed by females, based on gender role divisions of labor in the U.S., prior to the 1970s. These policy areas include issues affecting women, children, education, and health.

The SPENDWOM index is based on responses to questions 9, 10, 11, and 12 on page two of the survey. Questions are structured to simulate policy funding decisions state legislators typically confront. Each response that funding "should be increased" is coded as one. Responses that funding "should remain the same" are coded as two. A value of three is given for each response that funding in any of these four areas "should be decreased".

Therefore, the index is coded from a minimum value of four (most supportive of funding for "women's traditional" policies) to a potential maximum value of twelve (least supportive of funding for policies in these areas). Unlike previous created scales, the lower the value of SPENDWOM the more supportive the legislator is of funding for "women's traditional" policies.

Support for "Feminist Policy Issues" (FEMINDX)

The feminist policy index (FEMINDX) in this research builds upon Saint-Germain's basic concepts. It also has roots in the feminism index developed by Susan Gluck Mezey (1978) in her analysis of local female politicians in Connecticut, and Beth Reingold's more recent battery of feminist issue questions.²

This feminist policy index (FEMINDX) has five indicators based on responses to questions 14 through 18 on page three of the survey. These questions include items adapted from the politics and legislation section of a 1975 Attitudes toward Feminist Issues Scale (ATFI) by Elmore, Brodsky, and Naffziger (1975). The ATFI scale was developed

²See Beth Reingold's Appendix 2b "Sample Written Questionnaire", page 517, Section F in her dissertation "Representing women: Gender differences among Arizona and California state legislators" (1992a).

"from paraphrasing the resolutions of the 1970 national convention platform of the National Organization for Women" (Beere, 1979,389). The scale's reliability and validity were tested in a test-retest model on women's study and psychology college students. Female students scored significantly higher than their male counterparts on all issues, except child care, at the ($P < 0.05$) level.

The stronger legal sanctions against parents who owe child support indicator (question number 13) was also added to the index, but subsequently dropped. More effective enforcement and stronger sanctions for unpaid support have recently become very salient state policy issues. Legislative leaders projected they would become important policy agenda items in 22 state legislatures during the 1995 sessions.³ However, responses to question thirteen were later dropped from the feminist index. It performed poorly due to a lack of difference (variance) of opinion on the issue. Of the 1073 legislators who responded to question thirteen, 950 (88.5%) agreed stronger legal sanctions should be enforced against non-custodial parents who were delinquent in paying child support (409 agreed and 541 strongly agreed).

Created Dependent Variable

Effectiveness of the Women's Caucus (EFFECTV)

This variable (EFFECTV) applies only to those 32 states whose representatives reported having a women's political caucus in their state legislature. It is a cumulative scale of question 24, items 24A through 24E, from page four of the survey. The scale measures legislators' opinions of the effectiveness of their state's women's caucus in influencing five specific areas of the agenda setting and policy making process.

Questions 24A through 24E asked legislators how much influence they perceived their chamber's women's caucus has on (A) getting more women appointed to important committees, (B) bringing more items concerning women and children to the agenda, (C) getting more kinds of citizens' groups involved in the policy making process, (D) better representing

³See Table 13. "Public Assistance: Reform Efforts in 1995" in State Legislative Priorities 1995: An Opinion Survey of Leading Lawmakers, National Conference of State Legislatures (January 1995b).

women's policy interests, and (E) influencing the outcome of policies affecting women and children.

Values of EFFECTV range from zero (least effective) to a potential maximum value of twenty (most effective). For each "Not at all" response on items 24A to 24E the scale is increased by one. The scale is increased by two for each "A Little" response, and is increased by three for each "Some" reply. For each "Very Much" reply the scale is increased by four. Responses of "Don't Know" are coded to be zero.

Support for Women's Policies in Bills Sponsored (WPOLICY)

This variable is measured in question three, page one of the survey instrument. It (WPOLICY) is a scale ranging from zero to a potential maximum three. WPOLICY measures whether the policy content areas of the legislator's most important bills sponsored during 1995 are in policy areas of women's traditional concerns. These areas primarily concern children, family, public education, and elder care issues. The specific policy areas include child abuse, children and youth, child support, cultural affairs, public kindergarten through grade twelve education, services for the elderly and aging population, human services, juvenile crime and juvenile crime prevention, and pro-life issues. For each priority bill sponsored in one of these content areas the scale is increased by one.

Support for Feminist Policy in Bills Sponsored (FPOLICY)

This variable is also measured in question three, page one of the survey instrument and is a scale ranging from zero to three. It measures support for feminist policy issues in the top three bills the legislator sponsored in the 1995 session. Bills are considered feminist policy issues if the bill content seeks to increase the economic, education, health, legal, safety, or social status of females.

Substantive policy areas as reported by legislators include protection of crime victim's rights, increased legal enforcement for domestic violence, as well as expanded prevention, treatment, and recovery services at abuse centers for women and children. Other policy areas included environmental protection and ethics reform in government and campaigning.

Many employment issues top the feminist agenda such as enforcement of sexual harassment laws, pay and gender equity issues in the work place, home, and in public accommodations. A related concern is equal access to and

funding for women in obtaining higher education. Health concerns on the feminist agenda include Pro-choice issues, other gynecological and women's health issues such as early breast cancer detection and treatment linked to required insurance coverage for mammographies, and the prevention and treatment of osteoporosis.

Some domestic and family issues included in the feminist (but not in the women's policy agenda) are family law reforms (divorce, adoption, custody). Another "family" issue of importance is preventing teen pregnancy through access to safe and effective family planning, contraception, and abortion without parental notification, judicial consent, or legislative intervention. For each priority bill sponsored in one of these content areas, the scale is increased by one up to a maximum of three.

Perceived Personal Policy Support

Important factors which may prevent a legislator from submitting and sponsoring bills include (1) being a first term legislator, (2) being in the minority party, and (3) being elected to a "citizen" or amateur legislature which lacks expertise or authority to draft much legislation. Another important factor in this sample which decreased a legislator's ability to sponsor bills was belonging to a "super-sized" legislative chamber such as the 400 member New Hampshire General Court (House).

For these reasons actual bill sponsorship may be suppressed and an artificially lowered measure of a legislator's support for issues. Therefore, two additional dependent variables that measure the legislator's self-identified three most important legislative priorities, regardless of whether the legislator actually sponsored any bills, are used.

Personal support for Women's Policy (WPPOLICY)

A legislator's reported personal support for women's issues (WPPOLICY) attempts to measure the perceived support among legislators for the policy areas identified as "women's traditional interests" (see WPOLICY defined earlier in this appendix). This variable is measured in question two on page one of the survey instrument and is a scale ranging from zero to three. For each personal legislative priority in question two that is in one of the "women's traditional policy" areas, the scale is increased by one up to a maximum of three.

Personal Support for Feminist Policies (FPPOLICY)

This variable is also built on responses from question two the legislator's personal legislative priorities. It is similar to the WPPOLICY variable above, but is based on those policy areas defined as "feminist" (see the definition for FPOLICY). The scale also ranges from zero to a maximum of three. Each time a legislator's personal legislative priorities are in a "feminist" policy area, the value of the scale is increased by one. This variable does not measure whether the legislator sponsored any bills in this area during the 1995 session.

Bill Passage Success Rate (BILLSUCC)

Legislators' success in sponsoring their priority bills, regardless of the substantive policy content area, is measured in question four on page one of the survey (BILLSUCC). This variable is a cumulative scale ranging from zero (i.e., least successful) to maximum of three (i.e., most successful). If none of the priority bills sponsored by the legislator are passed by the full legislature the variable is coded zero. For any sponsored bill that passed the legislature the variable is increased by one, up to the maximum of three (if all three priority bills sponsored pass both chambers of the legislature, or in Nebraska pass the Unicameral Senate).

The bill success variable is used in testing both how many bills a legislator passes in "gendered" (i.e., women's policy) and also in gender-neutral policy areas.

APPENDIX E
RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Survey Pre-testing

A bipartisan, multi-ethnic sample of twelve Florida legislators including female and male state Senators and House members was selected for pre-testing the survey instrument. All pretest legislators' staff were personally contacted in advance. Survey packets were mailed to these legislators the last ten days of June 1995.

Each pretest legislator received a high quality photocopied fully assembled eight page 8 1/2 " x 7" spine stapled survey booklet complete with instructions, graphics, and confidentiality guarantee. Survey booklets were accompanied by an individualized personal letter, and a laser printed personalized cover letter on University of Florida department of political science letterhead signed by both the author and Dr. James Button, doctoral committee chair. A self addressed stamped department letterhead envelope was enclosed for returning the completed survey. Pretest survey forms were identified only by an alpha-numeric code linked to a confidential list of legislator names.

By June 30, ten legislators (four senators and six representatives) had completed the survey instrument and agreed to participate in follow-up in-person or phone debriefings. These debriefings averaged thirty minutes, and ranged from fifteen minutes to one phone debriefing lasting over an hour. Legislators' comments, criticisms and suggestions on the study, the packet and to improve the instrument were solicited. Many of these suggestions resulted in clarifications, additions and a few deletions to the survey's close end question responses. These changes significantly improved the instrument, reduced some of the academic jargon and made the survey more appropriate and directly related to legislators' concerns.

Several limitations to pretesting on a convenience sample from one state, rather than a multi-state more random pretest sample, became clear once national sample responses were received. Florida, like many southern states, is a "right to work" (anti-labor union) state which resulted in assumptions that led to some omissions of labor unions in the group support questions. Native American issues,

especially gaming and casinos, which were very important on many mid-west and western legislatures' agendas were not anticipated or included in the ethnic group influence questions. Some legislators compensated for this oversight by adding these issues under the open-end "other" group sections. Because all pre-test legislators were drawn from a single state, the Florida response rate on the final version of the survey was artificially lowered on questions subsequently added or altered as a result of implementing pretest recommendations.

Pre-survey brochures

Color trifold brochures to publicize the upcoming national survey and to encourage female legislator participation were printed and delivered to the National Conference of State Legislatures' 1995 annual conference in Milwaukee (See Appendix G). They were distributed in conference packets to the approximately 200 female legislators who attended the Women's Network keynote banquet at the conference. Senator Myrna Bair (DE-R), incoming 1995-96 Women's Network President and co-signer on the cover letters to female legislators, actively supported the survey. She encouraged Network members to participate in the survey and to respond to questions which we jointly added to help encourage women's participation in upcoming regional Women's Network Leadership Development programs. Unfortunately the California Assembly was called into special session just prior to the conference, and its female members including the outgoing Network's president were unable to attend.

Survey packet contents

Each survey packet contained a printed fully assembled eight page 8 1/2 " x 7" spine (saddle) stapled survey booklet. Booklets were printed in two different neutral colors. The front cover of each survey included instructions, a graphic of the New Hampshire statehouse, a numeric code (for identification by state and legislator) and confidentiality guarantee. Survey booklets mailed to female legislators were accompanied by a printed cover letter with the individual legislator's address and salutation hand typed. Letters to females were printed with the University of Florida Department of Political Science letterhead masthead, and were cosigned by Senator Myrna Bair (DE-R), president of the National Conference of State Legislatures' Women's Caucus and the author. These letters

stressed the importance of women's impact on public policy making and encouraged the female legislators to request additional information about the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) Women's Network Leadership Programs.

Cover letters sent to male legislators were printed in two colors (black text with the gold seal of office) using the masthead of Florida Senator George Kirkpatrick (FL-D) who signed them. The content of the male legislator letter was identical to the letters sent to female legislators excepting for the overt emphasis on women legislators and the NCSL questions. The male legislators' letters emphasized studying the effects of increased diversity among state legislators of both parties including women and ethnic minorities.

Surveys sent to male legislators were slightly different than those sent to the females. Questions 53 (requesting information about interest in or attending the Women's Network Leadership Conferences) and the final question (unnumbered) about plans to attend the Fourth quadrennial Conference for Women State Legislators sponsored by the Center for the American Woman and Politics were omitted.

A 1994 CAWP qualitative survey about women's legislative caucuses found males were members of women's legislative caucuses in only one state, Missouri.¹ Therefore, in order to decrease the survey's complexity, encourage more replies and reduce refusals based on survey length, questions 21 and 22 in the female legislator survey were omitted from the male legislator survey.

The assumption that only Missouri had male members in its women's legislative caucuses proved to be erroneous. Eighteen male legislators, 16 Democrats and two Republicans, from a total of eight states (CT, IL, ME, MI, NH, NM, OR, and VT) reported they were members of their state's women's legislative caucuses. Female caucus officers and members of women's legislative caucuses in other states indicated although their caucus had no male members, men were not prohibited--and in some states would be welcomed as members.

A self-addressed number nine business reply envelope was enclosed for returning the completed survey. The return envelopes were addressed to State Legislators Survey, used the Department of Political Science's campus address and University of Florida business reply permit information. Survey instruments were identifiable only by a six digit number stamped by numbering machine on the front cover. This code was linked to a names list. Both the cover letter and survey form informed legislators their participation was

¹"Women's Caucuses in State Legislatures." CAWP News and Notes, Summer 1994, 9(3):24-30.

voluntary and that confidentiality was ensured so their answers would not be personally identified with them.

Administering the Survey

Survey Instrument and Measures

Packets were mailed with first class postage (not metered or bulk mail) in number ten pre-stamped 32 cent envelopes. The Political Science Department's return address was stamped on them. Legislators' addresses were hand typed using a high quality carbon ribbon and the same print font as the cover letters. Packets were originally mailed to the legislator's published address as indicated in the National Conference of State Legislatures' *Election Results Directory* (1995 edition).

First wave mail out of surveys

Envelopes, cover letters and number stamped surveys were typed and assembled in advance for the first wave of packet mailings to 3700 state legislators in the fifty states. The first wave of mailings was scheduled for mid July to arrive at the legislators' offices shortly after they returned from the national conference (where female legislators had been alerted to expect the surveys).

The timing of the first mailing was also selected because 39 state legislatures had already completed their scheduled 1995 sessions by July.² This was important as members would know the final outcome of bills they had sponsored during the session (question four on the survey). Most year-round legislatures were on summer recess from their legislative schedules. The first wave of surveys were mailed beginning Monday July 17, 1995 and continued to be mailed for a total of nine days in lots of 400 daily.

²The Kentucky legislature did not hold a regular session during 1995. Session information on bills are from the Kentucky 1994 legislative session.

First wave "reminder" post cards

Pre-stamped blank post cards were purchased in bulk and pre-printed with a brief thank you and reminder statement. The message included an offer to send a replacement sample on request if the first had not been received and a contact phone number. Simultaneously laser copier self-adhesive labels with the legislator's name and address were typed and copied in duplicate. Labeled pre-printed and pre-stamped reminder postcards were mailed to all 3700 legislators beginning on July 27, 1995 (a week to ten days after the first packet mailing) for five days. A total of 328 completed surveys were received the following week. Up to 236 returning surveys may have crossed with the reminder cards in the mail.

It is likely nearly 100 surveys were returned within days of receiving the "reminder" post cards. In addition, 33 legislators (from 23 states) called requesting duplicate survey packets be sent to them. Replacement packets were mailed daily as soon as requested. Each was accompanied by a personally typed and signed thank you card. Three legislators called declining to participate. Also during this time incomplete, inaccurately and "old" former addressed packets were being received back undeliverable, some with forwarding addresses, but most with none. The returned blank survey packets were resent on a daily basis to updated addresses provided by the postal service or through direct contacts with individual state legislature's information offices. The constant mailing of replacements and updating addresses delayed the start of and prolonged the duration of the second wave of surveys mailed.

Second wave mail out of surveys

Identical survey packets with individually typed envelopes, legislator addresses, and salutation were prepared for the second wave mailing. Revised cover letters reminding the legislator they had previously received a survey a month ago, but we had yet to hear from them were produced as before. By August 17, exactly one month after the first survey packets had been mailed a total of 501 completed surveys had been received.

For fifteen business days beginning Monday August 21, 1995 a total of 3074 second mailing survey packets (1219 to females and 1855 to male legislators) were mailed first class. The numbering identification system was slightly modified so a returned survey using the same unique legislator code number could be identified as having been part of the first or second wave distribution.

On average 200 surveys were prepared and mailed daily, approximately half the daily volume mailed during the first wave. Delays were due to three major causes. First, the inability to prepare all the second packets in advance. It was not possible to determine until just before mailing which legislators had already responded to the first mailing or reminder cards. Second, was the simultaneous heavy flow of receiving and remailing first wave packets, duplicate requests, and reminder cards with updated addresses. My independent teaching responsibilities and exhaustion of our wife and husband "mailing team" from previous mailings contributed to a decreased enthusiasm and efficiency during the second wave mailing. We eventually completed it. By September 8, 1995 after the second mailing (but before the reminder cards could have had much effect) a total of 649 surveys had been received.

Second wave "reminder" post cards

As before, reprinted dated pre-stamped "reminder" postcards with pre-copied pressure sensitive labels were mailed to legislators at their most current updated address. Reminder cards were timed to arrive approximately one week after the second wave mailings. The first ones were timed to arrive shortly after Labor Day, and continued in order by state until September 19, 1995. No second reminder cards were sent to New Hampshire legislators, as over one hundred (69 males and 43 females) had already responded. Again phone requests for additional (now a third copy) of the survey packet were received from legislators in response to second-wave reminder cards. During the last three weeks of September (presumably in response to the second wave of "reminder" post cards) an additional 212 surveys were received. Ironically, some surveys returned after the second mailing and second follow-up reminder card were those originally sent to legislators during the first wave July mailing.

A selective third survey wave mailing

Dillman instructs survey directors using his "Total Design Method" to send a third complete mailing certified mail to non-respondents seven weeks after the first mailing (1978, 183). The significantly increased postage cost (for what would be dwindling return rates) and probable anger of legislators having to personally sign for its receipt at post offices made this recommendation unwise, at best, in this case.

A total of 861 surveys had been received, with gender response rates of 27.6 percent for female and 20.2 percent for male legislators. This sample size met the minimum sample size threshold of 786 but the female sample of 421 just barely satisfied the minimum 393 gender sample required. A selective third mailing was required to increase response rates and insure minimum sample design requirements could be guaranteed. A careful state by state analysis of the 861 completed survey sample distribution (by gender and chamber) was done October first. No third mailing was sent to New Hampshire, as the state's female response level had already exceeded 35 percent, which had become the satisficing response level.

Third, somewhat more compelling, versions of the female and male legislator cover letters were produced as before. Survey packets were mailed to all non-responding female legislators in 49 states (excluding New Hampshire). A random replacement sample of male legislators stratified by chamber, partisanship, and ethnicity was selected as needed. The male replacement sample equalled the non-responding males in the state legislative chamber less the total of male legislative surveys already received from that chamber. In legislative chambers where the total number of males already responded exceeded 60 percent of the total female legislators in the chamber no additional male sample was drawn. No male replacement samples were necessary from either chamber in Hawaii, Nevada, or New Hampshire. Based on already received response rates, seven states needed male replacement samples from only one chamber.³ In two of these states bipartisan replacement samples were not required.⁴

For thirteen business days beginning Monday October 30, 1995 a total of 2428 third mailing survey packets (982 to females and 1446 to male legislators) were mailed at a daily rate of 200 surveys. No third mailing of "reminder" post cards followed this mailing.

A final targeted, limited fourth female survey mailing

I was very fortunate to be granted a working internship from the Center for the American Woman and Politics (Rutgers

³No male legislator replacement sample was required from Senates in Idaho, Kansas or Wyoming; or from state Houses in Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota and Vermont.

⁴No male legislator replacement sample was needed of Democrats in the Minnesota House or from Republicans in the Montana House.

University) to attend the fourth quadrennial Forum for Women State Legislators, November 16-19, 1995 in San Diego, California. At the conference I attended forums, panels, working sessions, round tables and formal presentations. I also conducted interviews with female legislators who had previously agreed to individual meetings as indicated on their returned completed surveys.

I actively networked at sponsored social gatherings and at meals. I encouraged the women I personally met, who remembered receiving my surveys but had not yet responded, to please participate. A week after the conference I mailed them a fourth packet with an enclosed personal letter reminding them of our meeting and discussion. Nineteen female legislators, from fourteen different states, returned completed surveys from this personal request and fourth mailing contact.⁵

Encouraged by this response, I subsequently sent personalized letters introducing myself as a CAWP Intern to non-responding female legislators who had attended the conference but whom I had not personally met. I especially focused on Republican female legislators from states with low survey response levels. Personalized letters of introduction and packets were also mailed to female legislator colleagues recommended to me by the women I interviewed during the conference. Thirty-three female legislators from these groups returned completed surveys.

Subsequently I sent personal customized cover letters cosigned by Senator Bair and packets to non-responding newly elected executive committee members of the National Conference of State Legislatures' bipartisan Women's Network. Twelve committee members returned completed surveys in December, a month notorious for exceedingly low survey responses. Surprisingly to me, these combined unscientific mailings resulted in a total of 64 additional female legislators returning completed surveys.

⁵Female legislators from the following states completed surveys based on personal meeting and request at the CAWP Conference (CT, GA, IL, IN, MD, MI, MN, MO, MT, NV, NC, OH, OR and WI).

APPENDIX F
LEGISLATOR SAMPLE IN THIS RESEARCH BY STATE AND GENDER

State	Number of Female Legislators in Sample	Number of Male Legislators in Sample	% of Female Legislators in State Responding
Alaska	6	6	42.9%
Alabama	0	3	0.0%
Arkansas	3	2	17.7%
Arizona	7	6	25.9%
California	5	5	20.0%
Colorado	8	13	25.1%
Connecticut	14	16	28.0%
Delaware	6	7	46.2%
Florida	8	6	25.8%
Georgia	11	18	25.6%
Hawaii	3	6	20.0%
Iowa	16	16	59.3%
Idaho	12	15	41.4%
Illinois	8	10	19.1%
Indiana	7	11	21.2%
Kansas	17	22	37.0%
Kentucky	3	5	27.3%
Louisiana	4	1	28.6%
Maine	18	27	37.5%
Maryland	24	25	44.4%
Massachusetts	16	9	32.7%
Michigan	9	16	27.3%
Minnesota	23	21	46.0%

State	Number of Female Legislators in Sample	Number of Male Legislators in Sample	% of Female Legislators in State Responding
Missouri	14	9	36.0%
Mississippi	3	5	15.0%
Montana	18	17	50.0%
North Carolina	7	13	25.0%
North Dakota	10	23	45.5%
Nebraska	6	5	50.0%
New Hampshire	44	69	34.7%
New Jersey	3	3	18.8%
New Mexico	12	5	52.2%
Nevada	5	9	22.7%
New York	11	11	29.0%
Ohio	8	10	25.0%
Oklahoma	5	4	31.3%
Oregon	8	13	30.8%
Pennsylvania	10	11	33.3%
Rhode Island	8	9	22.2%
South Carolina	5	8	23.8%
South Dakota	6	13	31.6%
Tennessee	1	1	5.6%
Texas	8	13	24.2%
Utah	6	8	40.0%
Virginia	3	8	18.8%
Vermont	17	29	31.5%
Washington	17	13	29.3%
Wisconsin	13	17	40.6%
West Virginia	9	13	45.0%
Wyoming	9	12	49.7%

APPENDIX G
PRE-SURVEY BROCHURE



WOMEN

Legislators

We Need Your Help



Thank you

For Your Reply.

Survey Directors:

Elizabeth Williams, MA
James W. Wilton, Ph.D.



UNIVERSITY OF
FLORIDA

Department of Political Science

State Legislator Study
Political Science Dept
University of Florida
3324 Tarlington Hall
P. O. Box 117325
Gainesville, FL
32611-3325

MY NAME IS _____
ADDRESS _____

(Street)

City _____
(State) _____
(zip) _____
Office Phone _____
FAX Number _____

For more information and to return survey please complete
PLEASE CHECK ANY THAT APPLY & RETURN IN THE PREPAID ENVELOPE
Please send me a State Legislator Survey form.
Please send me more information on the RCL Leadership
Training Programs
I plan to participate in the Leadership Training Program.

Please share your legislative expertise and policy opinions with us in a national survey of female state legislators conducted by the University of Florida with assistance from the NCSL Women's Network.

Why we need your help ...

You are among the 1,535 elected legislative women who now are fifth of all legislators nationwide. Unlike most earlier female legislators you have been elected (not appointed) to office based on your own hard work, campaign skills, legislative abilities and important policy issues. As more women like you serve in state legislatures you are affecting the legislative process, policy making, and representing different kinds of issues.

What we'd like to know ...

We are most interested in your policy priorities, key issues & legislative goals. In the 1990s you have increased opportunities to propose, influence, and help determine important policies that directly affect our daily life for citizens of your state.

Why this study is important

This study will provide detailed national information on the

- * Effectiveness of women's legislative caucuses
- * Most effective leadership committee styles of women
- * Influence of women legislators on decision making and the policy process
- * Emergence and impacts of a "women's policy agenda" on public policy outcomes directly affecting the daily lives of citizens
- * Differences among women legislators, prioritized based on economic status, political party, race, & ethnicity

Let's help each other

Now we can help you ...

The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) Women's Network sponsors Leadership Training Programs. Would you like to participate?

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Please complete the back of this form and enclose your business card. Information will be sent to you.

Now you can help us ...
Please complete a survey form

Your response is absolutely confidential. You do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer. Just enclose the completed survey and your business card. We do not send you a duplicate form to your district office. Your help is very important to us.

APPENDIX H
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVALS



UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

Institutional Review Board

114 Psychology Bldg.
PO Box 112250
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250
Phone: (904) 392-0433
Fax: (904) 392-0433

June 5, 1995

TO: Ms. Elizabeth Grace Williams
3324 TURL, PO Box 117325

FROM: C. Michael Levy, Chair,
University of Florida Institutional
Review Board

SUBJECT: Approval of Project #95.239
Public policy making in US State Legislatures
The impacts of increasing female representation

I am pleased to advise you that the University of Florida Institutional Review Board has recommended the approval of this project. The Board concluded that your subjects will not be placed at risk in this research. Given your protocol, you should use the cover letter you submitted to us rather than attempting to obtain legally effective (signed and witnessed) informed consent from each participant. This approval, however, is conditional upon your submitting to the IRB a copy of the approved cover letter that includes the following phrase in the upper or lower margin: "Approved for use through June 5, 1996."

If you wish to make any changes in this protocol, you must disclose your plans before you implement them so that the Board can assess their impact on your project. In addition, you must report to the Board any unexpected complications arising from the project which affect your subjects.

If you have not completed this project by June 5, 1996, please telephone our office (392-0433) and we will tell you how to obtain a renewal.

By a copy of this memorandum, your Chair is reminded of the importance of being fully informed about the status of all projects involving human subjects in your department, and for reviewing these projects as often as necessary to insure that each project is being conducted in the manner approved by this memorandum.

CML/H2

cc: Vice President for Research
College Dean
S. Sanderson
Dr. James W. Button

95 CLAS fellowship

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

THIS FORM MUST BE TYPEWRITTEN. Please read the reverse side before completing this form.

1. TITLE OF PROJECT:

Public Policy Making in U.S. State Legislatures
The Impacts of Increasing Female Representation

2. PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(s): (Name, degree, title, dept., campus address & phone #) Elizabeth Grace Williams, Master of Arts-Political Science, Doctoral candidate, Political Science, 3324 Burlington, 1324 Burlington, P.O. Box 117325, Gainesville, Florida 32611-7325 Phones 904-392-0262 (Dept) 904-392-0056 (Office)
3. SUPERVISOR OF M.A. STUDENT: (Name, campus address & phone #) James W. Sutton, Ph.D., Professor Political Science, P.O. Box 117325, Gainesville, FL 32611-7325 phones 904-392-0262 (Dept) 904-392-6614 (Office)
4. DATES OF PROPOSED PROJECT: From JUNE 1995 To FEBRUARY 1996

5. SOURCE OF FUNDING FOR THE PROJECT: College Liberal Arts fellowship 1995 \$3,000
(As indicated in the Division of Sponsored Research) UF Graduate School fellowship 1993 \$4,000

6. SCIENTIFIC PURPOSE OF THE INVESTIGATION:

This research examines whether increased female representation in state legislatures has resulted in the emergence of gender-related policy priority and legislative effectiveness differences between male and female legislators, and the presence of a "woman's policy agenda" or "feminist policy agenda". Four independent variables hypothesized to increase the likelihood of such policy agendas include (1) presence of a women's legislative political caucus, (2) the strength & number of political linkages between female legislators and women's groups, (3) the chamber career opportunity structure, and (4) partisan cohesion in the legislative chamber.

7. DESCRIBE THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN NON-TECHNICAL LANGUAGE:

The UFIRB needs to know what will be done with or to the research participant(s).

This dissertation research involves conducting a national survey of all 1,535 female state legislators and a male comparison sample of 1842 legislators serving as of June 1, 1995 in the 50 states. A total 3,377 attitudinal surveys will be mailed in 3 waves (June, August, Sept) to legislator's home addresses available and publically published by the National Conference of State Legislatures. The sample will be "controlled" (i.e., analyzed) by gender, state, legislative chamber (Senate or House), political party, and legislator's ethnicity or race.

I will study how legislative women's political caucuses (now in 26 states), the percentage of female legislators (from 5% to 39.5%), political party factors, and legislator's priority bills affect the effectiveness of female legislators compared to males in proposing and passing social policy on issues of particular concern & benefit to women & dependent children.

Behavioral data on bill sponsorship and enactment in chambers will be obtained from surveys and published journals. The surveys request voluntary participation to complete and return them, confidentiality is assured to respondents whose forms are numerically coded but do not indicate the participants name.

8. POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND ANTICIPATED RISK: (If subject is at risk of physical, psychological or economic harm, describe the steps taken to protect subject.) Survey respondents (state legislators) will not be subjected to potential psychological, physical, or economic harm as part of this research. Surveys will include a prepaid postage reply envelope (no cost to repplier). State legislatures are becoming more important, vital, and involved in a wider scope of policy making and funding decisions directly affecting citizen's daily lives. The percent of women legislators has increased five-fold since 1970, this survey provides most complete sample since 1987, as first to allow
9. DESCRIBE HOW SUBJECTS WILL BE RECRUITED, THE NUMBER AND AGE OF THE SUBJECTS, AND PROPOSED COMPENSATION (if any): comparative national analysis of subjects of women by ethnicity, race, state, chamber, and their effectiveness on policy outcomes.
10. DESCRIBE THE INFORMED CONSENT PROCESS. INCLUDE A COPY OF THE INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT (if applicable). Consent instructions including "you are not required to answer any questions you do not wish to answer." instructions for completing the survey, estimated time to complete, and guarantees of respondents confidentiality are on the front cover of the attached survey. Respondents are not asked for, and not encouraged to indicate their name/address etc. Please use attachments ONLY when space on this form is insufficient.

Principal Investigator's Signature

Supervisor's Signature

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
PO Box 112250 / 114 PST
Gainesville, FL 32611-2250
(904) 392-0433

May 8, 1996

TO: Ms. Elizabeth Grace Williams
3324 TURL, PO Box 117325

FROM: Harriet S. Kayse, Program Assistant

SUBJECT: Approval of Project #95-239 *fr*
Public policy making in US State Legislatures
The impacts of increasing female representation

EXPIRATION DATE: June 5, 1996

Approval for this project by the University of Florida Institutional Review Board is about to expire. To help us keep our records current, please complete the following:

- ☐ The project is complete or human participants will not be involved in this project after the expiration date noted above. The UFRB file on this project may be closed at that time.

If the project is not complete, we will consider your request for extending the approval when you complete and return this document with the appropriate attachments.

- ☒ Extension of the UFRB approval is requested for this project.
(The Board will determine the IRB approval period appropriate to the degree of risk.)

☒ No change will be made to the approved protocol.

☐ I wish to modify the protocol as described in the attached letter.

☒ No adverse effects or unanticipated outcomes occurred during the past year.

☐ The attached letter to you describes the adverse effects and/or unanticipated outcomes that occurred during the past year.

☒ The risks to the participants have not increased during the past year.

☐ The risks to the participants have increased during the past year. The reasons for this change in risk are described in the attached letter. A summary of any recent literature, findings, or other relevant information applicable since the last UFRB review is also attached.

Number of participants involved to date: 1,157 Participants remaining: 47

The research participants in this project are: public officials (state legislators)

☐ Infants ☐ Adolescents ☒ Adults ☐ Mentally or emotionally
☐ Children ☐ Pregnant women ☐ Prisoners challenged individuals

☒ If any participant withdrew from the research or if there were any complaints about the research, attach a written description.

☒ Attach two clean copies of the current informed consent document. The IRB will stamp an expiration date on them upon approval and return one copy to you for duplicating purposes.

Elizabeth Grace Williams 5-16-96
Principal Investigator Date
James R. Sutton 5-17-96
Supervisor (of Student PI) Date

Albert R. Hatt 5/17/96
Department Chair Date
Acting J.L.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elizabeth Grace Williams is the eldest daughter of Nelson Garrett Williams. Mr. Williams, a retired college teacher and labor law attorney, is active as a guardian ad litem, civil court mediator, model railroad collector and journalist. Elizabeth is partners in life and marriage (and soon-to-be joint survivors of doctoral studies!) with Jack (John) Robert Bloom, her loving husband of fourteen years.

She was raised by her father in Muncie and Bloomington, Indiana and also briefly lived in Blair and Omaha, Nebraska. Elizabeth began her undergraduate studies at the College of the Ozarks located in Point Lookout, Missouri near Branson. She subsequently earned a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Religion (1981) and a Master of Arts Degree in Political Science (1989) with a graduate certificate in Public Administration from the University of Florida. May 1995 she received the first graduate certificate in Womens Studies and Gender Research granted to a doctoral student by the University of Florida.

Prior to beginning her doctoral studies, Elizabeth successfully pursued a progressively responsible public administration career in computer operations management at the Center for Instructional and Research Computing

Activities at the University of Florida. Her political, public policy and gender research interests have their roots in more than a decade of volunteer work and active civic public service in city and county government.

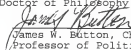
Elizabeth served as a member, then chair of the Gainesville Human Relations Advisory Board (HRAB) which investigates, negotiates, conciliates and resolves complaints of unlawful sexual and racial discrimination in employment and housing. She has been a member and committee chair of the Gainesville Commission on the Status of Women and a site supervisor for the University of Florida Minority Research Apprentice Training Program. Elizabeth has been actively involved in women's and prenatal health care delivery as a clinic volunteer with the Alachua County Health Department. As a member of the HRS District III and State of Florida Health Planning Councils she participated in public health policy making and program evaluation.

Ms. Williams has taught American Federal Government and been a teaching assistant for State and Local Government at the University of Florida. Since May 1994 she has been an Instructor for State and Local Government with the University of Florida Department of Continuing Education. Elizabeth has been a frequent guest lecturer for University of Florida courses in Women and Politics, Minorities and Change, and Public Administration. She has been an occasional speaker for local civic and professional groups

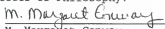
and was an invited panelist at the Alachua County League of Women Voters' 1995 Conference honoring the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage in the United States.

Ms. Williams' publications include a 1992 monograph on Florida's higher education system, "'Limited Access' Programs--Exceptions that Threaten the Florida Higher Education Articulation Agreement," which is available nationwide through the ERIC Community College Clearinghouse. In 1994 the Collins Center for Public Policy at Florida State University published her community issues policy paper "Florida's Human Services Delivery System: Should It Be Changed?". Ms. Williams has also coauthored two forthcoming book chapters. She is first author of "Black Legislative Behavior in Florida 1968-1992," in *Black Legislative Behavior: A Comparative Analysis* to be published by the State University of New York Press. With Dr. Wayne L. Francis she coauthored "The Florida Legislature and the Legislative Process," in *Government and Politics in Florida* to be published by the University of Florida Press. She has been a member of the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration since 1989.

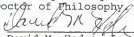
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James W. Button, Chairman
Professor of Political
Science

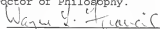
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M. Margaret Conway
Professor of Political
Science


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Professor Emerita of
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Political Science in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August, 1997

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